# Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

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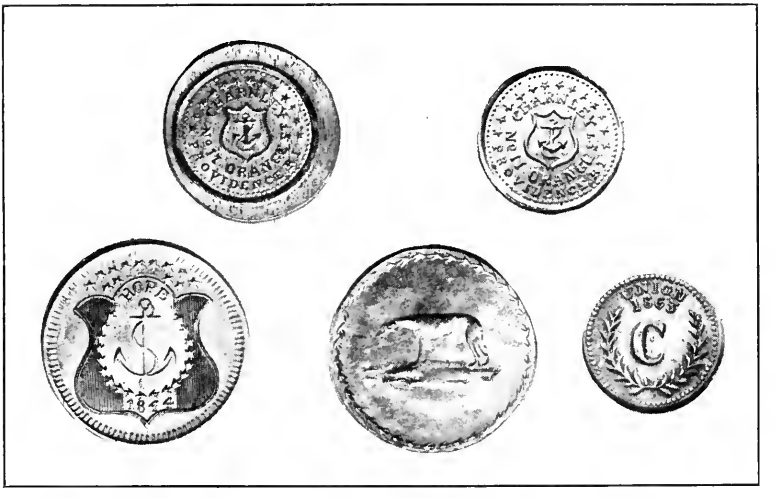


METAL TOKENS USED AS CURRENCY

Metal tokens issued in Providence in 1844 and 1863 which were used as money on account of the lack of metal fractional currency.

*From the Society's Museum*

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI. JANUARY, 1933 No. 1

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
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# Colonial Newport as a Summer Resort

*By* CARL BRIDENBAUGH

At the southern tip of the island of Rhode Island lies Newport, of which it has been said, "The climate is the most salubrious of any part of his Majesty's possessions in America. . . . It is made the resort every summer of numerous wealthy inhabitants of the Southern Colonies, and the West Indies, seeking health and pleasure. For the same reasons, and to enjoy the refined and polished Society of Newport, many families of fortune from the West Indies and Europe have taken up their permanent residence there; and among them many men of science and education have . . . made it their abode. . . . There are upwards of nine thousand inhabitants, celebrated for their hospitality to strangers, and extremely genteel and courtly in their manners."[1]

This is not modern real estate promotion "literature," but an excerpt from a letter written in the year 1765 by Robert Melville, governor of His Majesty's Colony of Grenada. The fame which Newport enjoys today as a summer resort of wealth and fashion dates from colonial days, and long before the American Revolution it had achieved its established position as "Our Social Capital." The climate of the Narragansett country was likened by Bishop Berkeley to that of Italy,[2] and Richard Greenough, a native son, heartily echoed his sentiment when he dubbed it the "American Venice."[3] The Reverend Mr. Callender quoted with pride in his Century Sermon of 1738 the words of praise uttered by "old Neale": "this is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New-England for the fruitfulness of the Soil and the temperateness of the Climate."[4] In 1798, writing of the scene of his boyhood, Arthur Brown recalled that "the Climate of Rhode Island, often called the garden and the Montpelier of America, induced such numbers of wealthy persons from the southward to reside there in the summer, that it was ludicrously called the Carolina hospital."[5]

The earliest visitors to Newport were planters from the West Indies who came there to enjoy its beneficial climate. Several invalid Antiguans arrived at Newport as early as 1729, to rebuild their health which had been impaired by the excessive heat of that tropical island.[6] Many of these people became enamored of the beautiful Narragansett country and determined to settle there. When Bishop Berkeley landed, in 1729, he was greeted by the Redwoods of Antigua, the DeCourcys of Ireland, the Bretts of Germany, and the Scotts of Scotland. Newport was already famous as a watering place.[7]

Before long the South Carolinians, many of whom originally came from Barbadoes and other islands of the Caribbees, began to sense the desirability of a vacation spent away from the fever-infested swamps of the Carolina tidewater.[8] Among the first of the summer visitors from

Charles Town, was Col. Thomas Pollock, who came to "enjoy the advantages of the Climate," and "passed much of his time in Newport." Pollock practically became a resident of Newport, and contributed, through one of his children, to the greatest romance in the history of the town.[9]

The early Newport records have suffered from the ravages of time and war, and our information is slim indeed. But we may infer from what little we possess that the stream of visitors grew steadily following 1730. In particular, the number of South Carolinians increased, and in this period it began to be fashionable as well as beneficial for southern planters to summer on Rhode Island. About this time also Philadelphia's growing merchant aristocracy discovered the charm of Newport.

No record of the concourse of visitors was kept until after the founding of the *Newport Mercury* in 1758. The enterprising Samuel Hall and his successor, Solomon Southwick, took a forward step for American journalism when, in 1767, in addition to the usual shipping news, they began to print lists of summer arrivals. It was doubtless a source of considerable satisfaction for the shopkeepers of Newport to read in the *Mercury* of June 1/8, 1767, that "Last Thursday, the Sloop Charlestown, Capt. Joseph Durfee, arrived here from Charlestown, South-Carolina, in 9 days, with whom came Passengers, the Reverend *Winwood Serjant*, intended for the Episcopal Church in Cambridge, near Boston, together with his Lady, and a number of other Gentlemen and Ladies. The whole Number of Passengers amounted to Eighteen." From 1767 down to the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 these notices became a regular feature of the *Newport Mercury*. It was Southwick's custom in this period to print the names of prominent visitors in capitals, whereas the familiar coming and going of the mercantile group was restricted to ordinary font. The activities of the world of fashion, thus early in our colonial society, became better headline material than the simpler doings of

mere men of affairs. Here, in embryo, is our modern society column, a feature unique in the colonial press.[10]

The lists of arrivals grew steadily in size, and in the eight years before the Revolution we know that over four hundred people visited Newport in the summer season.[11] It is possible that the unchronicled arrivals totalled many more. By far the largest number came from South Carolina, although Philadelphia and Jamaica contributed their share. A striking feature of these lists is the fact that although Newport had a regular packet service to New York, as well as to the West Indies and the South, and probably transacted more business with that town than any other, not one New York name is to be found. Perhaps the Knickerbockers had already found their way to Long Island and the Catskills.[12]

Good boat service was absolutely necessary to Newport's development as a resort. In 1767 there was no continuous road from the South to New England, and even had there been one, the distance and rigors of the trip would have discouraged all but the most hardy. The journey could more conveniently be made by sea. In this period Newport was enjoying the "golden era" of her commerce with the West Indies. Packet ships from Narragansett Bay were to be found in all of the southern ports and in the havens of the Caribbean.[13] Captains sought passengers as well as cargoes, and probably many a planter was lured north by highly colored "sales talks" expatiating on the beauties of Rhode Island. The conclusion is inescapable that Newport could not have become a resort had it not been first a flourishing seaport.

Comfort and convenience, however, were merely relative, whatever the means of travel in colonial days and the journey by sea to Rhode Island was hazardous, to say the least. The Atlantic coastline was almost uncharted and lighthouses were few. We marvel today that families would ever have made the attempt when we read in the *Mercury* of June 18, 1770, of a vessel wrecked near New

London:[14] "This Vessel was chartered by Col. *Smith*, of Charlestown, S. Carolina, in which himself, his Lady, 4 Children and 4 Servants, and several other Personages, were coming to this Place to Spend the Summer. But happily there was no Person lost except the Mate, who was drowned.—Col. *Smith* and his Family arrived safe here yesterday." Perhaps some, of whom we have no record, were not so fortunate, but it seems safe to assume that those who were not so opulent as Col. Smith and chose the regular packet boats were probably favored with better passages under the care of expert pilots. At any rate, the packet service became the favorite means of transportation. It was, however, a long and tedious voyage to Newport, requiring from Jamaica twenty-five to thirty-three days,[15] from Charles Town, seven to sixteen (ten being the average),[16] and from Philadelphia, four to six days.[17] When the packet sloop or brig slid past Beaver Tail Light and tied up at Long Wharf, Newport, we may be assured that the weary travelers sighed with relief and hurried ashore to meet their waiting friends. Newport must have had its attractions to cause people to risk both comfort and safety to enjoy them.

Who were the people who summered in Newport? From what class of society in their native towns did they come? Fortunately, the *Newport Mercury* affords the answers. That they could bear the costs of traveling indicates that most of them were wealthy, and an investigation of their backgrounds proves that many of the people who came from the southern colonies and the West Indies were of the British official class. "On Monday last came to Town, from Boston, His Excellency Lord *Charles Greville Montague*, governor of South Carolina and his Lady, . . . to pass a few weeks."[18] We have already noted the arrival of Robert Melville, governor of Grenada.[19] In September, 1772, " . . . Lieut. Gov. Young of Tobago being in Town," invited the Reverend Ezra Stiles to call on him. "I waited upon him and his Lady," wrote the Congregational Min-

ister, "and spent three hours with him."[20] In the same year Lord William Campbell, last royal governor of South Carolina, spent some time in Newport with "his Lady," the former Sarah Izard of Charles Town.[21] Newport was particularly attractive to the "Hon. *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for South-Carolina;" he and his "Consort" passed the summers of 1769 and 1770 there.[22] Those minor officials in the colonial and naval service who could afford the luxury were also to be found summering at Newport.[23]

The merchant princes of Charles Town and the wealthy planters of South Carolina constitute the largest group to visit Newport. Fear of the yellow and "country" fevers had for years driven the Carolina planters into Charles Town during the summer months, and after 1765 the fame of Rhode Island lured them northward. A glance at the "society page" of the *Mercury*, June 26, 1769, informs us that: "Last Friday Capt. Joseph Durfee, in the Sloop Charles-Town, arriv'd here in 7 Days from Charles-Town, with whom came Passengers the Hon. *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for South-Carolina, &c. *Henry Middleton*, Esq; and Family." The brig Betsy, in July, landed another group: "Mr. *John Izard*, Esq; and Family, *Alexander Wright*, Esq; and Family, and *Archibald McNeil*, Esq; and Family," from Charles Town after a passage of twelve days.[24] Two years later a flutter was caused in the social set by the arrival of "Lieut. Gov. *Bull*, Mr. *William Bull*, Mr. *Outerbridge*, Miss *Katy Beale*, Dr. *John Farquharson*, Mr. *Gabriel Manigault*, Miss *Hazell*, Mr. *Philip Mines*, Mr. *John Morgery*, Mr. *Isaac Milehill*, and others."[25]

By 1768 the blueboods of Philadelphia began that annual pilgrimage to the Narragansett Bay country which continues to this day. On August 15, the *Mercury* announced the arrival of "Mr. *John Wharton*, and Sister, Mr. *Samuel Nichols*, Mr. *Williams*, and Sister, Mr. *Benj. Rawles*, of Philadelphia." In the seven year period cov-

ered by this paper, we note among other members of Philadelphia society the names of Mr. Clement Biddle, Mr. Josiah Hewes, Mr. Gilbert Rodman, Mr. Christopher Marshall, the Lillibridge family, Thomas Mifflin and family, the Philadelphia Redwoods, and Mr. Lewis Bonnettee.[26] From Jamaica, Georgia, and North Carolina came summer visitors whose names are less familiar today, but who certainly were socially important in the eighteenth century.

The season was long, for the Southerners especially, commencing as early as the first week in May, and lasting till October, occasionally into November. This we also learn from the *Mercury*, which began to take notice of departures in its issue of November 6, 1769: "This Day sail'd the Sloop Charles-Town, Capt. *Joseph Durfee*, for Charles-Town, South-Carolina, with whom went Passengers, Mrs. *Wells* and Daughter, *Augustus Johnston*, Esq; Mr. *Sanderson*, Mr. *Edwards*, and Mr. *Nathaniel Russel*." The Philadelphians, being mostly merchants, had of necessity to yield to the calls of business, and generally left early in September. On September 6, 1773,[27] "sailed for Philadelphia, the Sloop Peace and Plenty, Capt. *Joseph Anthony*, with whom went Passengers, *Thomas Mifflin*, Esq; and Lady; Mr. *Thomas Hopkins*, and Lady, *Mr. Charles Startin*, and Lady, Mrs. *Sheilds*, Miss *Nabby Collins*, Mr. *John Gardner*, Capt. *George Crump*, Mr. *William McDonald*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Samuel G. Fowler*, Mr. *John P. Hicks*, and several others."

A summer spent in Newport was an expensive affair that only the well-to-do could afford. The cost of transportation, alone, for a family and retinue was great; "genteel" folk would feel it necessary to hire the whole cabin on the packet sloop. When they arrived at Newport, the wealthier families took houses for the period of their stay. In the spring and early summer the *Mercury* was filled with advertisements like the following:[28]

> To Be Let, A Genteel House and Furniture, with a Garden, &c, pleasantly located. . . .
>
> By Caleb Godfrey.

or,

> TO LET | two Houses | very convenient and pleasantly situated, with two good Stables, Gardens, and Wells of Water, &c . . . . Enquire of the Printer hereof.

Gabriel Manigault, of Charles Town, who was reputed the richest gentleman in the Colonies,[29] would probably have taken such a residence when he arrived for the season.

Some of the regular summer visitors owned estates near Newport, and may be regarded as the forerunners of the Van Rensselaers and Belmonts. Mr. William Rodman, of Philadelphia, owned "The Noted Farm on New-Shoreham," which was advertised for sale by William Ellery in 1772.[30] Occasionally one of the high provincial officials was invited to stay with a prominent family of Newport. In 1728 Lord Charles Greville Montague "went to the Country-Seat of Mr. William Redwood, . . . where, we hear, His Lordship proposes to pass a few weeks."[31] Here, too, he probably found the Philadelphia Redwoods, who frequently spent the summer with their Newport cousins.

The less opulent had to be satisfied with simpler accommodations in the town itself, such as "Three Genteel Rooms, pleasantly situated in Marlborough-Street, with the Priviledge of a Garret, Yard, and Cellar," or "a Genteel Parlour, furnished with Two Bed-Rooms, with a Priviledge in the Kitchen, and Accomodations for a Servant, in the good, clear Air, and retired." There were no real estate agents in those days, and one procured lodgings by consulting the printer of the *Newport Mercury*.[32] Single men, of whom there were many, generally lodged at taverns like Mary Cowley's, in Church Street, which advertised "several decent rooms and beds unoccupied," for "gentlemen."[33]

The arrival of the summer visitors was welcomed by the shopkeepers and taverners of the town as a good chance to "turn an honest penny." John and William Tweedy, druggists, and their competitors, Reak and Okey, advertised their cure-alls and nostrums with an almost modern assurance: "The Golden Medical Cephalic Snuff," to cure all disorders of the head; "British tooth-powder," at 2/6 per box; and "The True Italian Ointment," at 3/6. The ladies greatly feared injury to their complexions from exposure to the sun, and for this Reak and Okey prescribed "Queen's pearl wash ball," guaranteed to remove "freckles and sunburn. It renders the skin delicately white, smooth, and soft. . . ."[34] What modern cosmetic could promise more? In 1773, "Poree, Surgeon-Dentist" from New York, made a short trip to Newport in July, "at the intercession of some worthy gentlemen," no doubt hoping to find a market for his "artificial teeth" among the summer people,[35] for he put up at Mrs. Cowley's "genteel" boarding house. John Escoffier, "just arrived from Paris," informs the public that he has opened a "Hair-Dressing Business" and "makes Hair Cushions for Ladies."[36] John Goddard, cabinet-maker, who copies Chippendale's patterns from a manual recently imported, hastens to prepare new styles of furniture for his West Indian customers.[37] Paris fashions being all the rage, the modish female will of course wish to visit the shop of "MARY MARTIN, Millener and Mantua-Maker, Lately arrived from Paris. N. B. She dresses ladies heads, for half a dollar, at the Shop; and if waited on, at a dollar. . . ."[38] The Southerners and West Indians had a reputation as free spenders, and these Yankee tradesmen intended to operate on this assumption.[39]

An analysis of the lists published in the *Mercury* reveals certain social characteristics common to nearly all of the summer colony. West Indians and Southerners were predominantly members of the Anglican communion. Of the Philadelphians the majority also worshipped at the Estab-

lished Church, although there was a strong minority belonging to the Society of Friends. These travelers, therefore, would find in Newport, where Quakers and Episcopalians formed the most influential sects, a society especially congenial in the sphere of religion.[40] Socially the members of the summer group came almost wholly from the rising merchant aristocracy of the colonial towns. Most of the Charlestonians were members of St. Philip's and St. Michael's parishes—a sufficient key to distinction. In addition, many belonged to the Charles Town Library and the very fashionable St. Cecilia Society whose brilliant reception to Lord Greville Montague in 1773 so dazzled the sober Josiah Quincy of Boston.[41] The South Carolinians who came to Newport brought with them an established social position, and lent to the island resort a decided English tone borrowed from their native town.

Of the group from Philadelphia, nearly all enjoyed membership in the exclusive "Dancing Assembly," in itself the badge of gentility.[42] Seven of the gentlemen mentioned in Newport's "social register" were vassals of the Governor of the Colony in Schuylkill, the most select men's club of colonial days, and one of them, Thomas Mifflin, subscribed to the purses of the Jockey Club and rode to hounds over the course of the Gloucester Hunt.[43] We have no means of knowing much about the Jamaicans and Antiguans, but the fact that they traveled in the favored company of royal governors and were accustomed to pass much of their time in London lends strength to their claim for social distinction. Newport, even in the "gay nineties," would have found it hard to eclipse the galaxy of social lights it presented in 1772-1773. With its intellectual attainment, culture, refinement, and wealth, Newport was becoming the Bath of America.

We have already noticed that the first attraction of Newport was its salubrious climate, which was a great inducement to visitors from the South. This never lost its appeal, but Newport, like Bath, included many other

charms in its repertoire. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were sober and business-like seaports, places in which the "puritan" way of living was dominant. Not so with Newport. Because of its heterogeneous religious makeup, this town was from its beginning free from clerical control. "No opinion was prohibited consistent with morality," wrote Arthur Brown, because ". . . the multiplicity of secretaries [*sic*] produced more genuine religion, morality and piety . . . than in any country I have ever seen."[44] The puritan sabbath, as practiced in Boston, calling for half of Saturday to be used in preparation was ridiculed in the Newport press:

> . . . 'tis plainly seen, *how chang'd indeed*,
> That sacred law, which God himself decreed!
> *In this one Act*, they think to merit Heav'n,
> By taking half a day from six, and adding it to seven.

The people of Newport evidently agreed with Berkeley's dictum: "Give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man," but they wanted none of his religious discipline.[45] As compared with Boston, Newport was "wide open" on Saturday nights. To the gay, pleasure-loving planter it was indeed an attractive spot, while the Philadelphia Anglican felt a sense of relief from Quaker sobriety and moral compulsion.

Judged by eighteenth century standards the island of Rhode Island offered something to everyone—culture, solitude, gaiety, entertainment, and health.

Though the sea air and even climate of Rhode Island were claimed to be most beneficial, there were some who failed to find the cure for which they sought. The *Newport Mercury* records thus a simple tragedy that must have been frequently re-enacted:[46] "July 18, . . . died Miss *Elizabeth Hollybrush*, of Charlestown, South-Carolina, from whence she lately arrived here, for the Recovery of her Health, aged 21 Years. . ." On July 11, 1774 "*James Crooke*, Esq; and family" arrived from Jamaica, "to recover his

health," but on August 10 the *Mercury* gives notice of his death and burial in Trinity Church yard.[47] More pleasant is the item that in the summer of 1770, "Hon. *James Otis*, on a Tour for his Health, spent one or two Days in this Town."[48] Thus, we see that many invalids sought recovery along the shores of the Narragansett, but the impression gained from reading the newspaper is that the majority of the visitors were more interested in prevention than in cure.

These "idle rich" formed our first leisure class, and to the lower classes of Newport and the surrounding country may well have seemed as heretics rebelling against the traditional doctrine of "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." Lilies of the field had hardly as yet an accepted position in the pioneer society. That a class feeling was developing is mentioned in a condescending manner by Arthur Brown:[49] ". . . the richer merchants . . . together with the clergy, lawyers, physicians and officers of the English navy who had occasionally settled there, were considered as gentry; even being a member of the Church of England gave a kind of distinctive fashion. A superior order thus formed by better and more information existed even to a degree sufficient to excite jealousy in the agricultural system, and to be a gentleman was sufficient . . . to expose the bearer of that name to mockery and rudeness, a specie of inconvenience which a liberal mind pardoned as compensated by the comfort and independence which produced it." An undercurrent of resentment thus flowed in the relationship between summer guest and native laborer, notwithstanding the business advantage the situation brought to the latter.

During the period under review Newport was a bustling seaport of seven to nine thousand inhabitants.[50] For a community of its size it presented unusual cultural opportunities both for its own citizens and for visitors. Its chief pride was the great collection of books housed in the beautiful Redwood Library. Although this was a subscription

library, non-members could borrow books by depositing a sum against the value of the book and paying a small fee for its hire. Books withdrawn could be kept for a month.[51] For those who wished to improve their leisure by reading this library was unsurpassed in the Colonies. The *Diary* and *Itineraries* of Ezra Stiles, librarian of the Redwood, give ample evidence of the wide use of the collection by visitors as well as by townsfolk.[52] Solomon Southwick, printer of the *Mercury*, conducted a book store in connection with his business. The striking feature of the book advertisements in his paper is the amount of secular literature, especially novels, announced for sale, as compared with what was demanded by the more austere tastes of Boston, New York and Philadelphia.[53] Probably one of his best customers was the Vice-Admiralty Judge of Charles Town, who advertised on September 18, 1769: "Those Persons who may be possessed of any Books belonging to Augustus Johnston, are earnestly requested to return them as soon as may be." Use of the Redwood Library was evidently supplemented by private circulation.

Life on isolated plantations made it difficult for southern and insular planters to further their own and their children's educations, but a summer in Newport offered advantages in this line. Many gentlemen, no doubt, profited by the opportunity to improve their fencing under Monsieur Bontamps, Mr. William Pope, or Monsieur Delile of the University of Bordeaux.[54] Others could join with their ladies in the study of French under one of the many teachers who advertised. Lewis Delile, recommended by Rev. Mr. Stiles, who was also his pupil, announced that by his method "a Scholar can learn to speak very good French . . . in two Months."[55] Numerous private schools for boys and girls are noticed in the *Mercury* and possibly owed their existence to the presence of the summer colony.[56] For those of a more gregarious turn excellent conversation was to be had; few cultured people visited Newport without discussing the problems of the universe with the learned

Ezra Stiles. Trade and politics were the principal topics of debate at the Royal Exchange Coffee House, where among convivial surroundings could be had "the best of London Porter, Madeira, Teneriffe, White Li[s]bon, and Claret Wines, and every other liquor and Convenience suitable to accomodate Gentlemen with." All strangers and travelers could "depend upon the best Entertainment and Attendance."[57] Or, if you had a friend who belonged to the "Fryday Night Club" you might be introduced as a guest to one of Col. Godfrey Malbone's famous dinners.[58] The freemason from Charles Town, the West Indies or Philadelphia was sure to be welcome at the meetings of the Newport lodge.[59].

As if to usher in the season of 1772 came the announcement that on May 5, "A Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental *Musick*, By a Number of the First Performers from Boston, &c,"[60] would be given at the Court House, commencing at 7 P. M. sharp. The number and frequency of the advertisements for these concerts appearing in the *Mercury* suggests that they were well patronized. In 1767, Henry Hymes announced an "Entertainment of *Musick*, every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the Performances will be given gratis. . . . Any Gentlemen or Ladies wishing private Concerts may have it upon 4 hours notice," for which a charge will be made.[61] Music had been popular in Newport ever since 1733, when Bishop Berkeley presented an organ to Trinity Church.[62] The vestry was always careful to secure a competent organist, and in 1773, "William Selby, Organist of Trinity Church, Newport, Just arrived from London," informed the public that he would "instruct young Gentlemen and Ladies to play upon the violin, flute, harpsichord, guitar and other instruments, now in use. . . ."[63] That the visitors from Charles Town appreciated the Newport talent is seen from an advertisement in the *Newport Mercury*, April, 1771, for musicians to play at a concert with the St. Cecilia Society. A first and second fiddle, two hautboys, and a

bassoon were wanted, and it was hinted that there was a possibility of a two to three years' engagement.[64]. If the numerous announcements of Elias Gilbert's singing class at Bradford's School House and the many singing books and "English Songs in score" advertised in Southwick's paper are any index, voice culture was very popular.[65] Mayhap they still sang the song that some years earlier was on everyone's lips: "*The Glorious Success of His Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of Havannah.*"[66]

Although the Hallam-Douglass Company of actors had played for two seasons in Newport, in 1761-1762, no regular plays were performed as in New York, Philadelphia and Charles Town.[67] But the visitors, especially from Charles Town, furnished both the demand and the necessary patronage, and from time to time occasional performances were given. In 1771 the town granted a license to a group "to act plays," but we do not know that this privilege was ever utilized.[68] In the absence of real productions the people accepted the best substitute, and we learn from the *Mercury* that in 1769,[69]

On Tuesday Evening,
The Fifth of September Instant,
At Mrs, Cowley's Assembly-Room
In Church-Lane,
Will be read
An Opera,
Call'd Love in a Village:

By a Person who has Read and Sung in
Most of the Great Towns in America.

In all ways a developed seaside resort, colonial Newport, like its later rivals and imitators, furnished its crop of summer romances, and then as now a wedding thrilled the visitors and townspeople. In 1773 "William Gibbins, of Savannah, Esq;" married Miss Vally Richardson of New-

port. The wedding was celebrated in November, too late for most of the summer colony, but they at least had the pleasure of seeing the romance develop.[70] But the next year those who returned to Newport were rewarded with the privilege of witnessing the brilliant marriage of a daughter of the town to a distinguished visitor. On August 22, the *Mercury* reported that "Last Thursday was married, at Bedford, in Dartmouth, *Mr. Clemment Biddle*, of Philadelphia, merchant, to the aimiable *Miss Becca Cornell*, daughter of *Gideon Cornell*, Esq; late of this town, deceased."[71]

The lighter forms of amusement were many and varied. Among the gentry the giving of large, formal dinners was, perhaps, the most widespread of all social activities. The favorite dishes on these occasions were Dun-fish,[72] and West India turtles. After dinner the ladies retired and the gentlemen remained at the table for pipes, punch and Madeira. Before the men rejoined the ladies in the drawing-room for cards and dancing,[73] the latter regaled themselves with the latest gossip. In September of 1774 society was pleasantly horrified by the notorious Wanton scandal. Such affairs were not at all unusual in the families of artisans and mechanics—but *the Wantons* of Newport! The distraught husband, soon angered by prevailing rumors, vented his spleen in the press:[74] "Whereas *Content Wanton*, the wife of John Wanton (son of James) hath absented herself from my bed and board, without any cause or offence given by me, but, as I suppose, by the advice of some persons who are enemies to my peace and happiness, and as their wicked counsel may extend farther, in persuading her to run me into debt, to accomplish their wicked intent of completing my ruin;" this is to give notice that he will assume no responsibility for debts incurred by his apparently well-named wife.

Dancing was a favorite form of amusement in Newport for many years prior to the Revolution. An Assembly had been formed in 1745 by thirteen bachelors, the majority

members of Trinity Church, who issued invitations to thirty-two qualified young ladies.[75] We can find no records of the Assembly after 1751, but there exists abundant evidence that the habit of dancing grew with time. Dancing schools increased in number, and French dancing masters began to advertise frequently in the newspaper.[76] Whenever dinners were given they were usually followed by dancing, as well as by cards, backgammon and billiards—always accompanied by Madeira for the ladies and rum punch for the men.[77] Mary Cowley frequently advertised her Assembly-Rooms which opened in September, one to be used for dancing, "the other . . . a separate genteel Apartment with Card-Tables, and a good Fire. Hours 6-10 o'clock."[78] Dancing, for the most part, was a winter diversion in colonial days, although Arthur Brown remembered that "in warm weather parties in the woods and dinners, . . . with dances afterwards in the open air were favorite amusements." We infer that most people liked better the customary summer "evening promenades . . . when from about an hour after sunset, . . . the country resounded with songs and serenades."[79] This is truly a delightful picture of an idyllic existence.

It must never be forgotten that in colonial days the church was the central social agency. In the two decades preceding the American Revolution the increasing secularization of life in the towns was causing the church to lose much of its influence, but, nevertheless, it still played the leading role on the provincial stage. The social events of Newport revolved about Trinity Church. To be an Anglican was to be assured of a superior place in the ranks of society.[80] Stiles complained bitterly of the domination of the Redwood Library by the Church of England; "this set out as a Quaker affair, . . . [but] the Episcopalians slyly got into & obtained a Majority wch they are careful to keep."[81] Of course the Congregational parson was prejudiced, but there is no question of the social value of membership in the Anglican Church. The royal governors and lesser officials

who set the tempo of provincial life were generally of that communion, and, furthermore, the Church was far more tolerant and lenient in its attitude toward the "frivolous" side of life than the non-conforming sects. It is thus no source of wonder that the parish register of Trinity Church, Newport, reads like the bead roll of early Rhode Island, and on a pleasant sabbath in the summer the passerby would see large numbers of the visiting gentry escorting their "consorts" there to divine service.

Turtle parties enjoyed a great popularity as a summer entertainment. Jahleel Brenton's negro slave, Cuffee Cockroach, was always in great demand as a turtle cook. These affairs were generally held on Goat Island near Ft. George. Dinner was served at two in the afternoon, and was followed by tea at five, after which there would be dancing while the musicians played "Pea Straw," "Faithful Shepherd," and "Arcadian Nuptials." The parties broke up about eleven o'clock with a final hot toddy, and the gay revelers were ferried back to town.[82]

There were sporting possibilities in the neighborhood. The summer visitor was frequently amused by horse races on the beach between the famous Narragansett pacers, or by exhibitions of horsemanship by "Mr. Bates, the famous horseman," and Christopher Gardner, the local boy, whom the townspeople and press hailed as "the original American rider."[83] It was fashionable to take an afternoon's drive in a chaise about the Island, and stop for a bite to eat at Abigail Stoneman's tea house in Middletown, where "large entertainments . . . will be prepared on the shortest notice."[84] On sunny days parties were made up to hire Samuel Haywood's "new pleasure-boat, Liberty," and explore the coves and inlets of Narragansett Bay, or to make a run to Providence or Bedford on the packet boats.[85] On returning great strength of mind was required to pass the Oyster House on Long Wharf without sampling a dozen salts or so.

This, then, was the attractive prospect which the summer visitor faced. There was nothing like it in America, a seaside town, busily attending its own profitable pursuits, yet extending its hospitality to a society who came there because of its charm, and who generously added their own graces and accomplishments. The life was simpler than today, the display of wealth less great perhaps, the social stratification less intense. Newport was more of a flourishing seaport then than now, and its life revolved less exclusively around the arrival and departure of its summer guests. Yet potentially Newport was in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth, the health-restoring, pleasure-giving resort of those whose loftier birth, accumulated wealth and social accomplishments afforded them opportunity to enjoy in leisure a few months each year of the best the New World could offer. This happy, gentle society, almost unique in the pioneer sternness of life on a new continent, was abruptly, though not permanently, brought to a close by the outbreak of hostilities in 1775. It is with a pang of regret that we read the last "society notice" in the *Mercury:*[86] "June 12, arrived here the Sloop Friendship, Capt. *Munro*, in 14 days from Charles-Town, with whom came Passengers, Mr. *Isaac McPherson*, Mr. *Jonathan Clarke*, Mrs. *Clarke*, and Mr. *Nathan Child*, all of South-Carolina. This vessel was taken under the *protection* of the men of war."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
October 14, 1932

## Notes

[1]*Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, (July, 1885), VI, 45-46.

[2]George Berkeley, *Works*, (A. Campbell, ed., 4 vol., Oxford, 1871), IV, 160. Letter of April 24, 1729.

[3]William B. Weeden, *Early Rhode Island*, (New York, 1910), 266.

[4]Weeden, *Rhode Island*, 265.

[5]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 165*n*.

[6]Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, *Newport: Our Social Capital*, (Philadelphia, 1905), 19-20.

[7]G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport*, (Newport, 1884), 9.

[8]For some account of the fevers, see Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government*, (New York, 1901), *passim*.

[9]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 160-165. Col. Pollock was sued by John Scollay in the Rhode Island courts and ordered to pay a judgment of over £500. Walter Chaloner, sheriff of Newport, went bond for Pollock. The latter disappeared and never returned, and Chaloner was thrown into prison to satisfy the bond. Thomas Pollock, Jr. was thus left to bear the shame of his father's crime. The Ferguson family would not permit the lad to court their daughter Ethel, and in despair he signed for a merchantman in 1799. Returning in 1813 with a privateersman, Pollock learned to his sorrow that the Fergusons had moved to New York. He sought out Ethel on Long Island and married her. They removed to Carolina where a remnant of the paternal estate afforded them a refuge.

[10]Any social item of local importance was reported in the provincial press, but notices of this special type are not to be found in the other colonial newspapers.

[11]See chart accompanying this paper.

[12]*Newport Mercury*, August 10, 1761. Benjamin Blagg of New York and William Richards of Newport advertised two sloops to make regular trips between the towns.

[13]Bruce M. Bigelow, *The Commerce between Rhode Island and the West Indies in the Eighteenth Century*, (Ms., John Hay Library), is the authority on this important subject. Quoted by permission.

[14]*Newport Mercury*, June 18, 1770. A page of this issue is missing, consequently we do not know the name of the vessel or exactly where it was wrecked.

[15]*Newport Mercury*, August 19, 1771; June 24, 1771.

[16]*Newport Mercury*, June 26, 1769; June 18/25, 1768; May 28, 1770. All trips were made by the sloop Charlestown, Capt. Durfee.

[17]*Newport Mercury*, July 5, 1773; August 31, 1772. The trip from Georgia averaged about thirteen days. See *Newport Mercury*, July 12, 1773.

[18]*Newport Mercury*, August 1/8, 1768.

[19]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (July, 1885), VI, 45-46.

[20]*Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, (F. B. Dexter, ed., 2 vols., New York, 1901), I, 281.

[21]*Newport Mercury*, June 15, 1772.

[22]*Newport Mercury*, June 26, 1769; May 28, 1770.

[23]*Newport Mercury*, August 7, 1769, *et passim*.

[24]*Newport Mercury*, July 13, 1772.

[25]*Newport Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

[26]*Newport Mercury*, July 4/11, 1768; September 2, 1771; and June 28, 1773.

[27]*Newport Mercury*, September 6, 1773. The issue of October 9, 1769 notes the arrival of a party at Charles Town, which was probably clipped from the *South-Carolina Gazette*. This may indicate that social news was printed in that paper.

[28]*Newport Mercury*, August 20, 1770; March 5, 1770.

[29]McCrady, *South Carolina*, 402.

[30]*Newport Mercury*, May 11, 1772. Col. Pollock had a place in Newport.

[31]*Newport Mercury*, August 1/8, 1768.

[32]*Newport Mercury*, August 5, 1765; September 18, 1769.

[33]*Newport Mercury*, July 25, 1774.

[34]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 98*n*; *Newport Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

[35]*Newport Mercury*, July 26, 1773.

[36]*Newport Mercury*, October 2, 1775.

[37]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 49-50.

[38]*Newport Mercury*, May 16, 1774.

[39]See Richard Cumberland's sentimental comedy, *The West Indian*, (London, 1771), for the conception of the free and easy planter that prevailed at the time.

[40]G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, (Newport, 1890).

[41]See McCrady, *South Carolina*, *passim.*, and index; also the South Carolina Historical Society's *Collections*, (1857—).

[42]Thomas Willing Balch, *The Philadelphia Assemblies*, (Philadelphia, 1916), has lists of members, many of whom appear in the *Mercury's* lists.

[43]*Register of the Jockey Club*, (Ms. in Hist. Soc. of Pa.); also the *History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company*, 33; and *History of the Gloucester Hunting Club*, 67, in the same library.

[44]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 169.

[45]*Newport Mercury*, May 19, 1761; Berkeley, *Works*, IV, 160.

[46]*Newport Mercury*, June 13/20, 1768.

[47]*Newport Mercury*, June 11, July 18, 1774.

[48]*Newport Mercury*, August 13, 1770.

[49]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 167-168.

[50]In 1774 the population was 9,209. *A Century of Population Growth*, (Washington, 1909), 11.

[51]G. C. Mason, *Annals of the Redwood Library*, (Newport, 1881), 40.

[52]Ezra Stiles, *Itineraries and other Miscellanies, . . . with a Selection from his Correspondence*, (F. B. Dexter, ed., New Haven, 1916), and *Diary*, *op. cit.*

[53]See, for example, the list in the *Mercury*, June 6, 1774.

[54]*Newport Mercury*, June 30, 1768; June 12, 1769; Stiles, *Diary*, I, 184 (November 13, 1771).

[55]*Newport Mercury*, November 25, 1771.

[56]*Newport Mercury*, July 10, 1769; July 4, 1768.

[57]*Newport Mercury*, October 14, 1765.

[58]Stiles, *Diary*, I, 31.

[59]*Newport Mercury*, January 2, 1759.

[60]*Newport Mercury*, May 4, 1772.

[61]*Newport Mercury*, August 17/24, 1767.

[62]Mason, *Trinity Church*, 58.

[63]*Newport Mercury*, December 27, 1773.

[64]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 9-10.

[65]*Newport Mercury*, June 4, 1770; October 31, 1763.

[66]*Newport Mercury*, September 14, 1762.

[67]*Newport Mercury*, November 3, 1761.

[68]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 123.

[69]*Newport Mercury*, September 4, 1769; September 11, 1769.

[70]*Newport Mercury*, November 15, 1773.

[71]*Newport Mercury*, August 22, 1774.

[72]Mason, *Reminiscences*, 101-102. Dun-fish were a species of cod.

[73]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), 172.

[74]*Newport Mercury*, September 19, 1774.

[75]Howard M. Chapin in *Providence Sunday Journal*, October 22, 1929.

[76]*Newport Mercury*, April 11, 1774.

[77]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 172-173.

[78]*Newport Mercury*, September 26, 1768; November 2, 1772.

[79]*R. I. Hist. Mag.*, (January, 1886), VI, 172-173.

[80]Mason, *Trinity Church*, *passim*.

[81]Stiles, *Diary*, I, 166 (1771).

[82]Mason describes a typical party in *Reminiscences*, 101-102.

[83]*Newport Mercury*, May 6, 1765; October 25, 1773; May 23, 1774.

[84]*Newport Mercury*, June 29, 1772.

[85]*Newport Mercury*, August 14, 1769; February 22, 1773; March 1, 1773.

[86]*Newport Mercury*, June 12, 1775.

## SUMMER VISITORS AT NEWPORT, 1767-1775[1]

| Town or Place | 1767 | 1768 | 1769 | 1770 | 1771 | 1772 | 1773 | 1774 | 1775 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Charles Town | 29 | 12[2] | 29[2] | 44 | 33 | 48 | 14 | 43[2] | 4 | 266 |
| Philadelphia | 1 | 15 | ..... | ..... | 14[2] | 20[2] | 29[2] | 13 | ..... | 92 |
| Maryland | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| North Carolina | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 | 7 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9 |
| Georgia | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | 20 | 4 | ..... | 25 |
| Boston | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| West Indies | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 |
| Jamaica | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 5 | 20 | 10 | 18 | ..... | 54 |
| Total | 30 | 29 | 29 | 45 | 55[3] | 99 | 73 | 78 | 4 | 452 |

[1]Compiled from files of the *Newport Mercury*, 1767-1775. Where a family was mentioned its size was assumed to be six in number.

[2]Others came but names not known by printer.

[3]Several files of the *Mercury* are missing for May and June, 1771.

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*Original Land Grants of Portsmouth, R. I.*, compiled by Edward H. West, is a manuscript atlas of ten sheets showing the earliest recorded land holdings in Portsmouth.

*Washington's Headquarters*, by Mabel Lorenz Ives, contains an eleven-page account of the Stephen Hopkins House in Providence.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1932, contains an article on the English ancestry of the Fiske family by G. Andrews Moriarty, F.S.A.

*Frances, the Falconer's Daughter, the Mother of Governors, 1607-1677*, by Elizabeth Nicholson White, is an illustrated volume of 176 pages dealing with Frances (Latham) Dungan.

*Gilbert Stuart*, by William T. Whitley, is a volume of 240 pages.

*Berkeley's American Sojourn*, by Benjamin Rand, a book of 79 pages, was published by the Harvard University Press.

A History of the Young Ladies' School, 1860-1898, and Miss Abbott's School Alumnae Association, 1912-1930, written and compiled by Mary B. Anthony and Grace P. Chapin, Providence, 1932, is an illustrated book of 57 pages.

## Notes

Mr. Frederick W. York has been elected to membership in the Society.

# Peace Dale Seals

*Communicated by* Miss Caroline Hazard

The seal bearing the picture of a dove with wings expanded and with an olive branch in its mouth, surrounded by the words PEACE DALE, R. I., belonged to Rowland G. Hazard,[7] (1801-1888) and possibly to his father, Rowland Hazard,[6] who bought a house on the Saugatucket in July 1805, and lived there with his family for some years. Mary Peace, daughter of Isaac Peace of Bristol, Pa., was his wife. Hence the name Peace Dale and the dove.

# The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

*Transcribed by* THEODORE G. FOSTER

(Continued from Vol. XXV, page 128.)

A List of the Persons[8] who have whole Rights in *Westquanaug* as was computed, ordered, and allowed at a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanauge convened at the House of Joseph Smith in Kingston the 20th of February 1706/7 viz/

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Col. Samuel Cranston | 20 | 39 | - - - - - - - - - - - - - | 23 |
| Major John Greene | 18 | 47 | | 7 |
| Zachariah Rhodes | 22 | 53 | | 8 |
| Jeremiah Clarke . . | 24 | 36 | Jeremiah Clark | 10 |
| Clement Weaver, Senior | 5 | 41 | | 28 |
| Clement Weaver Junr. | 4 | 31 | Mr. Fields Half Share on the South Side of Fourth Lot | 27 |
| Latham Clarke | 27 | 30 | | 13 |
| Nicholas Carr | 14 | 56 | | 18 |
| Weston Clarke | 2 | 52 | | 15 |
| Robert Gardner | 26 | 42 | | 19 |
| John Fones | 13 | - - | | 20 |
| William Vaughn | 7 | 33 | - - - - - - - - - - - - - | 24 |
| Robert Westcot | 29 | 55 | | 3 |
| William Fobes } | 28 | 44 | | 4 |
| William Pebody } | 1 | 57 | | 12 |
| John Rogers | 17 | 46 | | 26 |

[8]West-Quanaug or The West-Quanaug Purchase.

A number of individuals of Newport were afterwards associated with the first purchasers, among whom were Gov. John Cranston, Caleb Carr, Thomas Clark, William Foster, Clement Weaver, Aaron Davis, John Jones and Latham Clark, most or all of whom have now descendants in the town. In 1707, this purchase was divided by lot among 29 proprietors, but the first settlement was not commenced until 1717. The first settler was Ezekiel Hopkins, whose descendants are now very numerous in the town; there are also here a number of the descendants of the two Governors, John Cranston and Samuel Cranston. (A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island by John C. Pease and John M. Niles, 1819, p. 342.)

The spelling Westenadgue appears in Prov. Town Papers (0623), printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 199.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Rhodes | 23 | 35 | Drawn by Ellery & Davis | 2 |
| Malichy Rhodes | 6 | 51 | | 16 |
| Simon Smith | 8 | 54 | | 21 |
| Andrew Harris | 19 | 40 | | 6 |
| Stephen Arnold | 21 | 48 | | 14 |
| Peleg Rhodes | 11 | 34 | | 1 |
| Benjamin Carpenter | 9 | 45 | | 11 |
| Nathaniel Waterman | 25 | 50 | | 22 |
| Hugh Mosher | 16 | 37 | | 9 |
| Joseph Case | 12 | 32 | | 5 |
| Aaron Davis | 3 | 43 | | 25 |
| Lawrence Springer Half Share | 10 | 10 | Half of a whole Share - - | 17 |
| Major William Wanton | 15 | 49 | - - - - - - - - - - - - - - | |

To the Gentlemen the Proprietors of Providence convened at the House of M^r. William Turpin[9] in Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island & Providence Plantation the 22^d of February 1706/7

Gentlemen WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed being a Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug being informed that Some of you have begun to lay out Land in the Southern Side of the Northern Branch of Pawtuxet River that cometh out of Ponhanganset Pond and lying on the Northern Side of Warwick Northern Bounds which Land is the Propriety of us the Subscribers and the Rest of our Partners.

WE do therefore in our own Behalf and also on Behalf of the Rest of our Partners forewarn and forbid you or any of you to make any Improvement of said Land as having no Right thereunto . . As Witness our Hands this 21^st of February 1706 7

Samuel Cranston
Weston Clark
Robert Gardner
John Rhodes
Simon Smith

[9]A copy of this letter appears among the Providence Town Papers (0644) and is printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 223.

March 31st 1707. The Trustees met and adjourned to the 2d of April 1707

April 2d 1702. The Proprietors met at the House of Mr William Bright in Newport and according to the Foregoing Agreement These underwritten paid in their Money to John Rhodes the Treasurer chosen viz Major Samuel Cranston 20 Major John Green 20 Jeremiah Clark 20 Aron Davis 20 Robert Gardner 20 Nicholas Carr 20 Clement Weaver Senr 20 Latham Clark 20 Joseph Wilbur paid for one Half Share for Lawrence Springer 10 Clement Weaver Jun 20 Weston Clark 20 Simon Smith 20 William Fobes 20 William Pebody 20 John Rogers 20 John Rhodes 20 Malichy Rhodes 20 Joseph Case 20. Major William Wanton 20

Ordered That Mr John Rhodes Treasurer of the Proprietors shall forthwith agree with Mr John Mumford Surveyor to go forthwith and make a Map and Platt[10] of said Land of Westquanaug—and said Rhodes Treasurer shall appoint such and so many to assest said Surveyor and shall pay both Surveyor and his Assestants out of the Money he hath in his Hands paid by the Company

And if said Treasurer cannot get Mr. Mumford the week the other Trustees on this Main may appoint as they shall think fit for the forwarding the said Concern and We do appoint that the Trustees as this Main shall upon emmergent occasion act and do all things needful relating or concerning the Premises

Ordered That Zachariah Rhodes shall have a Share and a Half carried on at free Cost . . . This was ordered by the Trustees on the Main of the 14th of of April 1707.

[10] That difficulties were encountered in the attempt to make this survey is shown by Providence Town Paper 0647 (printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 227); a warrant dated May 1, 1707 and issued by Governor Cranston, wherein it is related that officials of the Town of Providence arrested and imprisoned the Westconnaug surveyors. P. T. P. (0651), printed XVII, 233, is a summons in this case dated June 10, 1707 and referring the case to the September 1707 court.

Memorandum That I Zachariah Rhodes for Consideration of a Right and Half of the Lands of Westquanaug to be carried on without any charge to me DO Declare that I shall in no way impede or hinder the Proprietors of Westquanaug but will forward and help them as much as I may by any Deeds or Writings that are in my Custody Neither shall I help any that shall oppose them either directly or indirectly . . Witness my Hand the 14th of April 1707. Signed in the Presence of Simon Smith Clerk

Zachy Rhodes

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanauge at the House of Mr. William Bright the 10th of June 1708

It is orderd that the former Committee chosen by the Proprietors for managing said Purchase is still continued: three of the major Part of them to meet and treat with the committee chosen by the Town of Providence[11] for the Settlement between those of Providence and the Proprietors aforesaid and what the Major Part shall act or do on the Premises shall be taken and deemd authoritative to all interests and Purposes—The Names of the Committee are Col Samuel Cranston Mr Richard Greene Mr Robert Gardner Mr Simon Smith Mr John Rhodes Weston Clark and Malichy Rhodes who have hereby full Power to move from Time to Time and Place to Place while the Mater be compleatd if possible to satisfaction—and We do appoint the First Meeting on the 18th Day of July next at Warwick at the Hous of Mr James Carder and that the charge of the Treaty be borne and paid by the Treasurer of the Proprietors—John Fones is chosen Clerk for this Meeting - - -

A True Copy

John Fones Clerk

This is treaty entered per Mr Simon Smith Clerk of the Proprietors

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[11]The record of the appointment of the committee of the Proprietors of Providence on May 18, 1708 is Prov. Town Paper 0664, printed in Prov. Rec. XVII, 239-240.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanauge this Fifth Day of September 1711 at Newport

Present
The Honourable Gov Samuel Cranston
M[r] Weston Clarke
M[r] Robert Gardner
M[r] John Rhodes
M[r] Malichy Rhodes &
Simon Smith

Ordered that whereas M[r] Richard Greene who was one of the Committee is Dead M[r] Job Green is chosen in his Room or Stead

And Whereas M[r] Robert Gardner one of the Committee hath sold his Right to Major James Brown It is voted by the Committee that the said Gardner shall be indemnified in the said Sale to the said Brown notwithstanding the Injunction in the Third Article of our Agreement February 20[th] 1706

This Meeting is adjournd to Tuesday come Sen night the 18[th] Instant at Warwick and if that be foul weather then to meet the next convenient Day

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At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Providence and the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanauge at Warwick this 18[th] of September 1811[12]

Agreed That a Petition or Exhitation be drawn to set forth the Claim of Providence as to the Title within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut Colony and also the Title of the Proprietors of Westquanaug which lyeth in said Colony which Petition is to be presented to the Court of assestants held at New London the 13[th] of October next—And the Men to draw said Petition &c are Cap[t] Thomas Fenner and Simon Smith and Cap[t] Thomas Fenner and M[r] Malichy

[12]Error for 1711.

Rhodes are to carry said Petition &c and the charge to be borne equally by both Parties—— And the Persons who draw up said Petition shall have full Power to Sign the same on Behalf of the Proprietors of Providence and the Proprietors of Westquanaug[13]

And it is farther agreed that if their shall be any Occasion to go to Law for the Lands of Providence or the Lands of Westquanaug which lay within the Jurisdiction of Connecticut Then the Proprietors of Providence and the Proprietors of Westquanaug shall be at equal Charge for carrying on the same and what Title we pitch upon to sue we to agree to at next October Court

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13 To the Honourable the Governor Deputy Gover[r] Assistants and Worshipfull Representatives sitting in Court at New Haven in the County of New Haven within and for her majestys Colony of Conicticut the 11[th] of October 1711

The Exhibition and humble Petetion of the Comittee of the Proprietors of Providence and the Comittee of the Proprietors of Westquedniuke Namely Col[w] Samuel Cranston Esq[r]. Maj[r]: Joseph Jenckes Esq[r]: Cap[t]: Thomas Fenner Esq[r]: Maj [r]: James Brown Esqr Cap[t]: Samuel Wilkinson M[r]: Weston Clark Esq[r]: Lt[w]: Thomas Harris M[r]: John Roades M[r]: Resolved Waterman M[r]: Job Green Esqr M[r]: Joseph Brown M[r]: Malachi Roades M[r]: Joshua Winsor and Cap[t]: Simon Smith Esqr:—All of her Majestys Colony of Road-Island and Providence Plantations Humbly Sheweth and Exhibiteth to your Honours

That the Proprietors of the Anciant Town of Providence having upward of sixty yeares since Purchased of the Indian Natives the Lands where they now Live Namely all the Lands Betwixt Patucket and Pautuxit Rivers And so to Extend from a Hill Called Fox-Hill Twenty Miles Westward &c: The which sd Purchase was made and Granted by one of the most Greatest sachems of the Narraganset Countrey and Confirmed by all the Chief Princes of the Natives and hath had a good Sanchon from England So that it Cannot be thought that So firme a Title should be Eclipsed or Deminished under any Presents Whatsoever &c:

Item the Proprietors of Westquodniuk by anciant Deeds and Confirmations Upward of fifty Yeares since Purchased of the Indian sachems a Certain Tract of Land or Part of the Countrey known and Called by the Name of Westquodniuk Bounded Partly on the Eastern and North

Eastern Parts by the aforesd Lands of Providence South and South westerly by the Lands of Agans west and north westerly by Quinippoge Lands and northerly by the Neppeneck Lands which Lands was Confirmed by Mosup alias Quissuckquans the Grand Chief sachem of the Narraganset Countrey Purchased by the Assent, and so well approved of by the Colony of Road-Island that they Enacted that it should be a Township they thinking then that it was all within their Own Jurisdiction

NOW the matter is that since, Commissioners having bin Chosen by Each Colony to state the Boundarys betwixt them as to Jurisdiction of Goverment And they having Done the same It now appeares that there is neare two miles of the Western part of Providence Purchase the whole Bredth thereof Lying within the Jurisdiction of your Colony of Connicticut

AND also a Great Part of the Purchase of Westquodniuk Lyeth within your Jurisdiction Contrary to what we Imagined before the Lines were Run So that we think it Our Duty now to Lay this Exhibition before your Honours to show what Title we have within your Jurisdiction And the Rather because we are therunto Incitted by a Clause in yor Printed Statutes Pag the 64:

NOW our Huble Petetion to yor Honours is that you would Give us your Leave that we may have free Accession to make Improvement and settle those Lands so Anciantly Purchased by us Now Lying within your Jurisdiction And we as to that Part shall be Obediant and submissive subjects under your Good Goverment

AND this we are the more Encouraged to Request Considering it was a special Article in the agreement that Propriety should be maintained and that all Anciant Grants Allowed by Each Colony should stand good Notwithstanding the agreement Concerning Jurisdiction betwixt sd Colonys Upon which the Colony of Road Island have bin Very Carfull to maintain Propriety and namely upon several in the Western Parts of Westerly who after the Jurisdiction line was Run betwixt the Colonys they fell within the Jurisdiction of the Colony of Road Island although their Title was the same w$^{th:}$ Conicticut yet the Colony of Road Island Maintained their Title the Jurisdiction notwithstanding

Wherefore we Pray that your Hon$^{r:}$ will Do the Like and grant our Petetion and Give to Our Messengers, viz, Maj$^{r:}$ Joseph Jenckes and M$^{r:}$ Malacky Roades the Bearers hereof a fovourable admission into your Hond: Assembly who will be furnished with such Deeds & manuscripts as will Evince and make Probation of this which is Laide before you (if your Hon$^{r:}$ Require the same) And we Pray that your Honours would give them Some Answer that they may Return the same to Us And in the meane time We Remain yo$^{r:}$ Humble Serv$^{t:}$ to Command

At a Meeting of the committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at Warwick Novem[r] the 17[th] 1711

Orderd that the Treasurer M[r] John Rhodes pay unto M[r] Malichy Rhodes for his Services and Journey to the Assembly at Connecticut at New Haven the Sum of Five Pounds Two Shillinds

Orderd that Capt Simon Smith in Behalf of the Committee write another Letter to the Assembly of Connecticut for the obtaining their possitive Answer stating our Claim within their Jurisdiction as is agreed upon by this Committee

Orderd that when the season of the Year will permit that Malichy Rhodes be appointed Surveyor with the Assestance of M[r] John Rhodes to Survey and lay out the Lands of Westquanauge within the Colony Line according to agreement with the Town of Providence and to proportions the same as near as may be to the Right of each Proprietor and that said Rhodes take such Assestance as the Work will require so far as relates to their Part . . .

Ordered that this Committee be adjourned to Newport the last Wednesday in February next or any of the Three Days following[14]

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At a Meeting of the Committee of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at Newport June 11[th] 1712.

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Providence October the 6th 1711 By Order of Both Comittes Signed by Us

Thomas Fenner
Sim[o:] Smith

(Connecticut Archives, Colonial Boundaries, 1, 200 a & b.) *Courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.*

This petition was considered at the meeting of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in October, 1711, but no action was taken at that time. (Conn. Col. Rec. V, p. 277.)

[14]On March 22, 1711-12, Nathaniel Waterman of Providence bequeathed to "my loveing Grandsons the two Zuriell Watermans all my lands in the Place called Wesquenoid". His will was presented for probate on April 22, 1712. (Prov. Rec. VII, 99.)

Whereas there was a Meeting of the Proprietors of said Westquanaug appointed at the House of Robert Nichols of Newport the 10th Instant in order to supply the Treasurer with a further Stock of Money to carry on the Affairs of said Purchase and to defray the Charge of the Surveyor &c in the laying out said Purchase into Farms or Lots and the said Meeting failing for want or through the Neglect of the Proprietors making their Appearances at said Meeting: The Committee considering the Premises and the Trust and Difficulty of getting the Proprietors to meet together and finding that they have full Power and Authority given them for the full and entire Menagement and finishing all Matters and Things relating said Purchase——We have viewed the Treasurers Accounts and find that the Money already deposited is all paid out towards the incident charges that have already accrued . . . .

We do therefore order that for the Defraying and carrying on the further charge that Each Proprietor having a Whole Share in said Purchase shall pay or cause to be paid unto Mr John Rhodes of Pawtuxet Treasurer or to his order the Sum of one Pound and so each Proprietor having more or less than a whole share to pay according to that Proportion: and that the said Sum or Sums shall be paid to Said Treasurer on or before the First Tuesday of September next

Malachy Rhodes Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Major Part of the committee of Westquanaug at Newport September the 13th 1714

Whereas Mr Malachy Rhodes of Pawtuxet Deceased was appointed and constituted Clerk and Surveyor to the Proprietors of the said Purchase and having the Register Book in his custody We have now chosen Job Green of Warwick clerk and Register to said Proprietors in the Room and Stead of Malachy Rhodes Deceased and that he shall go forthwith and demand and receive the Register Book at the Executrix of said Rhodes and any Writings of

said Proprietors and give a Receipt for the same and to [? account] and do all things needful on the Premises

And farther that he the said Job Greene do with the Advice and concurrence of the committee on the Main Land constitute and appoint an abel and well qualified Person as Surveyor or Surveyors in the Stead & Place of said Rhodes deceased so as the said Purchase may be fully Surveyed and Plotted and all other Things done and accomplished with the Town of Providence according to Agreement with them and to make Return of his or their Proceedings to the Committee at Providence the 28th Day of October next at which Time We do appoint a Meeting then to to do all things needful therein . . . . . Job Greene Clerk

---

At a Meeting of part of the Committee with some of the Proprietors at Providence the 28th of October 1714

Whereas Job Greene presented a Map of his Proceedings together with Major William Hopkins with the assestance of Major Thomas Fenner in that affair in the North Side at the Dividing Line according to the agreement with the Proprietors of Providence but there appearing but a small part of the Proprietors the Meeting was adjournd to Warwick on the Sixteenth Day of November following for a more full Number of the Company But wind and weather hindering there were but a small Appearance——But those that met agreed as followeth That Job Greene should proced to finish the Laying out the First Division with the Advice of Major Thomas Fenner and Mr John Rhodes and to finish the Division by the last of May next ensuing in order to come to a Lotment of the same——And further the finding that there hath been a failure on most part of the Proprietors in paying of Twenty Shillings apiece to John Rhodes Treasurer according to the order of the Committee at Newport June 11th 1712 for a further Supply to defray the incident Charges of said Purchase Therefore it is agreed on that each Proprietor that is behind in paying do forthwith pay said Sum to the Treas-

urer in order to defray the Charge of Surveying and it is further proposed that Major Fenner be added to the Committee in the Room and Stead of Malichy deceased

Signed per Order Job Greene Clerk[15]

---

At a Meeting of the Committee at Newport May the 9th 1715

It is agreed on That Major Thomas Fenner is accepted to be one of the Committee according to the Proposals at Warwick and that Capt. Benjamin Ellery is hereby chosen and added to the Committee in the Room and Stead of Mr Weston Clark he having sold his part of the Propriety of Westquanaug to Mr Joseph Whipple of Providence by consent of the Committee and it is further agreed on that Job Greene do proced to lay out the Remanding Part of said First Division as soon as may be and to take what Assestance he thinks proper in order to come to Alotment but said Greene's own Business hindering him from proceeding forthwith it is consented to by the Major Part of the Committee that Mr John Rhodes shall agree with Josiah Westcoat Surveyor to lay out the remainding Part of said First Division with the Expedition in order to Alotment and said Rhodes is to provide Assestants to the Surveyor and the whole Charge of the Surveying to be paid out of the Proprietors Treasury

Job Greene Clerk

---

[15]George Lawton of Portsmouth and wife Rebecca, On January 3, 1715, sold to Job Lawton of Newport one half share of land at Weshquanoak which was formerly bought by his father George Lawton from John Crandall on December 12, 1682 (R. I. Land Ev. III, 224).

(*To be continued*)

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS

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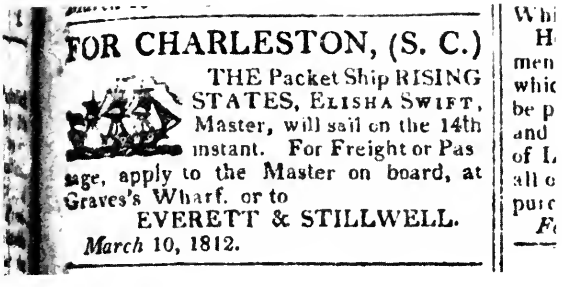
PROVIDENCE

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI APRIL, 1933 No. 2

PACKET SHIP "RISING STATES" ADVERTISES FOR BUSINESS


FOR CHARLESTON, (S. C.)
THE Packet Ship RISING STATES, ELISHA SWIFT, Master, will sail on the 14th instant. For Freight or Pas sage, apply to the Master on board, at Graves's Wharf, or to
EVERETT & STILLWELL.
*March* 10, 1812.

ADVERTISEMENT IN RHODE ISLAND AMERICAN OF MARCH 13, 1812

*See page 37*

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI APRIL, 1933 No. 2

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# A Providence Packet Ship of 1812

*By* GEORGE L. MINER

The center illustration in this issue of the COLLECTIONS shows a most interesting portrait of the 169 ton ship *Rising States* of Providence in the year 1812. The drawing, dated November 9, 1812, was made by Charles Simmons, and is done on a sheet of linen rag paper with india ink of brownish-black tint. The sails, flags, water and sky are washed in with water colors. The sails are a deep tan and the water and sky a pale blue. Bright colors—red, yellow and blue—pick out the flags and the eagle on the stern. Altogether, this old ship portrait, somewhat crude in workmanship and detail, has a great deal of delicacy and charm.

This picture is owned by Mr. C. Prescott Knight of Providence, and is one of a number of family heirlooms that recently came to him from a relative who handed on the tradition that the ship picture was from a collection of articles once belonging to Moses Brown, Providence merchant.

A few interesting facts have come to light about the ship *Rising States*. She was a packet ship voyaging in 1812 between Providence and Charleston, South Carolina. First notice of her sailing appears in the *Providence Gazette* of Saturday, March 14, 1812: "Port of Providence. Entered: Ship . . . *Rising States*, Swift, from Charleston."

In the same week, on the front page of the *Rhode Island American*, appears an advertisement to the effect that the Packet Ship *Rising States*, Elisha Swift, Master, will sail March 14 for Charleston, S. C. This advertisement is reproduced on the front cover of COLLECTIONS. The Packet's return is reported in the *Gazette* of April 11, and her clearance for Charleston again is reported April 25, 1812. A little later in the year the *Gazette* reported the arrival of Ship *Rising States*, Swift, from Charleston, May 23. And in its issue of May 30, the *Gazette* reports *Rising States*, Swift, Master, cleared for Charleston.

### PACKET SHIPS COMPETE

The *Rising States* had a competitor whose sailing was advertised in the *Gazette* of March 7, 1812:

"For Charleston (S. C.) the regular Packet Ship *Morning Star*, Samuel Grafton, Master, will sail on the 8th of March next, Wind and Weather permitting. For Freight or Passage, apply to Grafton and Hawkins, or the Master on board, at Moses Eddy and Brothers' Wharf."

The owners of the *Rising States* appear in a manuscript list about 1818 in the Society's archives as Humphrey & Everett. The March 1812 advertisement of the sailing was signed by Everett & Stillwell.

### TWO 1812 CARGOES

Among the old shipping documents in the files of the Society, Mr. Chapin found the two manifests of the first two voyages of the *Rising States* noted in the port entries and clearances.

The first manifest is dated at Charleston, February 26, 1812. It lists 16 entries:

Thirty-five Barrells Rice consigned to Giles Luther, Bristol.
Eighteen do. "
Forty-five Hogs heads Molasses "
Twelve Tierces Cotton machinery "
Fifteen Bbls Rice "
One barrell bacon, two bbls Harness "
Fourteen boxes Cotton Machinery "
Twenty-six hhds Molasses "
Eight barrells Rice, to George Graves, Providence.
Seven Barrells Do. to Seth Thayer "
Five hhds & One Tierce Cotton Seeds, to E. Swift, Providence
One bag Coffee-One bale sheepskins, to E. Swift, Providence
Sundry pieces Cotton Machinery, to Giles Luther, Bristol
Seven Bales Cotton, to Giles Luther Bristol
Twenty one Barrells Rice, to Everett & Stillwell, Providence
Ten Bales Cotton, to Everett & Stillwell, Providence

The manifest of the voyage from Providence to Charleston lists nine items:

1. Two Hundred Bbls Menhaden Fish, shipped from Sam'l P. Allen to consignee E. Swift.
2. One hundred Bbls Bread, from Wm. Potter to E. Swift.
3. One Hundred Bbls Apples, from George Evans to E. Swift.
4. Forty Bbls Potatoes, from George Graves to E. Swift.
5. Four Boxes Cards, from Alex Jones to A. D. Meurry.
6. Seven Bbls Pork, from Everett & Stillwell, Providence, to Stillwell & Everett, Charleston.
7. Six Box's Cotton goods, ditto.
8. Four Box's Bonnets, ditto.
9. One Hundred Reams Wrapping paper, ditto.

(Cards and Bonnets are names of cotton machinery.)

What happened to Packet Ship *Rising States* has not been discovered. Indication of change of owners or master appear on the back of the portrait of the ship. There in the same handwriting that is seen on the face and which states that it was Drawed by Charles Simmons, the following inscription is written: "A Present for Thomas Jackson, Providence."

The foregoing fragmentary facts regarding a Providence ship of 1812 open up a glimpse of an interesting period in the maritime history of Narragansett Bay. What effect had the War of 1812 on the *Rising States;* what became of her and her rival, the *Morning Star?* We do know that Providence commerce went flat at the time of the war, and that it revived and flourished again in 1815, and reached its high mark in 1819.

A note on the tonnage of Rhode Island ports in 1810 is given in *Staples' Annals:* Providence, 15,864 tons; Newport, 12,517; Bristol, 777.

# A Short History of Jamestown, on the Island of Conanicut, Rhode Island

*By* W. L. Watson

In writing an historical sketch of Jamestown or, in fact, any of the older New England towns, it has always seemed to me that the actual history really began in the 14th and 15th centuries, in those widely separated movements which, with the great aid of the invention of printing, led up to the Reformation of the 16th century. While the Reformation was essentially a religious and moral movement, of necessity it developed in the individual the feeling of responsibility and independence of thought. The courage and determination of the Pilgrims to leave home and friends and seek a new life in an unknown country was not born over night. It was, instead, the culmination of many years of struggle, privation and persecution, but always with an ever increasing elevation of the soul, clarification of the mind and the development of conscience.

From the beginning of the Reformation, about 1515, down to 1607, when that little band at Scroby, exiled by the English government, crossed to Holland and settled

in Leyden, this idea of freedom in religious thought had spread in all the governments of the old world. But the little colony in Leyden became convinced that they could never attain their ideals amid the surroundings of Europe, and we have that epoch-making voyage of the Mayflower in 1620. The reasons for this voyage, and the strength of character it took to make it, should be the first consideration in any history of early New England.

The first voyage having been successfully made, others soon followed and by 1644, thirty-four thousand people had settled in New England. The Bay Colony, developed more along commercial lines, soon attained the greater prominence. The government was started as a democracy, the governor and his assistants being chosen by the freemen. But in 1631, it was decreed that none but members of the church could be freemen. The government thus became a pure theocracy, controlled, unfortunately, by a few narrow minded, superstitious religious bigots. Into these surroundings came Roger Williams in 1631. He was soon (1635) banished from the colony because of his religious views. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson also preached a gospel that offended the church government. She, too, was banished "out of our jurisdiction as a woman not fit for our society." Before and during the trial many of her followers and others in sympathy with her, had been warned to leave the colony or they would be summoned before the court "to answer such things as shall be objected." Realizing what the outcome would be, this band, under the leadership of Dr. John Clarke and William Coddington, chartered a sailing vessel with the intention of founding their own colony somewhere on Long Island or the shores of Delaware Bay.

While the vessel was rounding Cape Cod a few of them went overland to Providence to confer with Roger Williams. Being in full sympathy with them and desiring such people as neighbors, he suggested that they purchase the Island of Acquidneck from the Indians. (It will be

recalled that one of the many points of disagreement between Williams and the Boston authorities was his contention that the king had no right to the land in America, as it belonged to the Indians.) His suggestion met with the approval of the company and after several meetings with the Indian Chiefs Connonicus and Miantanomu, who were very friendly with Roger Williams, a compact of government was drawn up on the 7th day of the first month (March) and on the 24th day of the same month title to "the great island of Acquidneck lyinge from hence Eastward in this Bay, as also the marsh or grasse upon Quinunicutt and the rest of the islands in the Bay (excepting Prudence)", passed from the Narragansett Indians to "Mr. Coddington and his friends under him." Here, I believe, we have the first mention of Conanicut in any official record.

The settlement was established at Pocasset (now Portsmouth), and in the first year it has been estimated that over one hundred families joined the new colony. Then came the division of the colony and the more substantial members, under the leadership of Dr. John Clarke and William Coddington, moved to the southern part of the island and established themselves at what is now Newport.

In the records of the first town meeting at Newport we find the following entry:

"It is agreed and ordered, that the Plantation now begun at this Southwest end of the island, shall be called Newport: and that all the landes lying Northward and Eastward from the said Towne towards Pocasset, for the space of five miles, so across from sea to sea with all ye landes Southward and Westward, bounded with the main sea, together with the small Islands and the grass of Cunnunnegott, is appointed for the accommodation of ye said Towne."

Here we have the second mention of Conanicut, but this time with a special reference which has a major bearing on the history of the island.

In picturing conditions with which the settlers of practically every town in New England had to contend, it must

be remembered that all the country was a virgin forest. It was even so at Newport. But for many years the Narragansett Indians had used Conanicut for a summer camping ground and here, after first having cleared the ground, they raised their crops of corn and beans. Their method of clearing was to set fire to the forest when conditions were favorable and let it burn. As a result large areas were cleared and had grown up to "grasse." This was a most valuable crop for the settlers at Newport who, as yet had very limited pasture for their cattle. Hence the "grasse of Cunnunnegott" was especially set apart "for the acommodation of ye said Towne."

But trouble arose over this same "grasse" and in the Land Evidence Book we find the following entry dated March 10, 1656.

"For as much as it is frequently declared that of late there have been endeavors used by some who are neither inhabitants of this Island or members of this Colony, to get into their possession and power of disposal the above Island Quononaqutt. And considering how commodiously ye said Island lieth for the enlarging the acomodations of some of us, in regard to ye nearness of it to our dwellings as also considering the great straight that many of us are in, for want of commonage for cattle, Therefore and for the preventing any forreigners getting into their possession whereby inconvenience and disturbance might possibly, yea and probably arise to ye government of this Colony.

"We whose names are hereto subscribed do as above said for ourselves or heirs etc. agree as followeth: Viz.

"First, That for the procuring the aforesaid Island Quononaqutt for ye occasions aforesaid we do hereby authorize and appoint seven of our number (namely) William Coddington Esq. Benedict Arnold, Sen. William Brenton or in his absence William Baulston in his stead, also Richard Smith of Narragansett, also Capt. John Cranston, Caleb Carr and John Sanford to use the best of their endeavors to make a full and firm purchase of the aforsaid Island Quononaqutt for and to themselves &for the rest of us who are in this present writing hereafter in order mentioned and also here unto to subscribe, and to the end premised the persons aforenamed are hereby fully and absolutely impowered and authorized, . . . . . to meet . . . . and agree upon any direction . . . . about getting the assurance from any Sachem and of the Indians . . . concerning said Island Quononaqutt, as also for the Island called Dutch Island to the intent Above said."

To this agreement there are 98 signatures.

Richard Smith Junr. negotiated with the Indian sachems and a price of £100, to be paid in wampum and peage, was agreed upon. The sachems, with their braves, and the purchasers assembled at the house of William Coddington in Newport where the deed was signed and witnessed, after which it was ratified by the passing of turf and twig from other sachems to Caleb Carr and Francis Brinley. Joshua Fisher made a survey and computed the area of the island, which was found to contain about 6,000 acres. It was agreed to allot 4,800 acres for division among the proprietors, 260 for a township, 20 acres of which were to be used for an Artillery Garden, a "place for buriel of ye dead," a prison house, and for a road four rods wide to run across the island, and 240 acres were reserved for a townplot to be divided in the proportion of one acre of townplot to 20 acres of farm land. The remaining land was reserved for highways and for reallotment to those whose lands proved to be undesirable.

It will thus be seen that the originators of the purchase had quite an elaborate scheme. The farm lands were to be at the north and south ends of the island, and the four rod road, which is now Narragansett Avenue, formerly Ferry Road, was to be the main road for the townplot.

It was further agreed that the land was to be divided in the same proportion as the amount subscribed, thus we read:

"William Coddington of Newport Esq., & Benedict Arnold, Senr. shall each of them pay one twentieth part of the whole charge and shall each of them receive one twentieth part of the premised purchase, and William Brenton, Merchant shall pay one fortieth part and one, one hundred and eleventh part of the whole charge and shall receive one fortieth part and one, one hundred and eleventh part of the premised purchase. And Richard Smith Senr., Capt. John Cranston, Richard Smith Junr. Robert Carr, Caleb Carr, Francis Brinley, James Barker, James Rogers, John Sailes, John Green, Valentine Whitman, and John Sanford shall each of them pay one fortieth part of the whole charge and shall receive one fortieth part of the premised purchase."

And so it goes through the whole list of 98 names until the last which reads:

"Thomas Case, Anthony Ravenscraft, Thomas Oliver, and John Fones shall each of them pay one nine hundreth part of the whole charge and shall each of them receive one nine hundredth part of the premised purchase."

A letter written by Francis Brinley, one of the purchasers, states that "John Green . . . was the first person that improved his land, and immediately sowed hay seed on his land where about he intended to build a house." A description of this house will be taken up later.

The original plan of the purchasers provided for town plots as well as farming sections. The four rod road, now Narragansett Avenue, connecting the ferries, was the old Indian trail and along this were located the town plots. The farms were at the north and south ends of the island and every 20 acres of farm land carried one acre of town plot. But those actively interested were farmers and they generally sold or traded the town plot to which they were entitled. Then again the purchase of the island, with many, was simply a speculation in land and they sold their interest even before the property was divided. All these things resulted in great confusion and in 1680 the island was resurveyed by Robert Hazard and all the records obtainable were ordered presented to the town clerk for recording.

All this would seem to indicate that the island was not gaining many permanent residents, and for lack of land evidence records we must turn to another source for further information.

Conanicut is an island, and Newport was the only market for products grown there. Most of the residents must have had their own boats, but in a letter written in 1675, Captain Church stated that, at the time of the Great Swamp fight, when he was summoned from his home in Rehoboth to Warwick, he crossed the bay by way of the ferries, and there seems to be no question that he referred to ferries from Newport to Conanicut and from Conanicut to Narra-

gansett. If there was travel enough to support two ferries, one on each side of the island, it is quite evident that many settlers had taken up a permanent residence on the island.

The history[1] of these ferries is most unusual and intensely interesting. The establishing of some regular means of getting to "market" would be the first necessity of an island population, and while Captain Church mentions such ferries in 1675 it is evident that they had then been in operation several years. The first license to operate a ferry was granted in 1695 to Caleb Carr, afterward governor of the colony, but records show that he had already operated the ferry many years. The landing in Newport was at exactly the same spot as is the present ferry landing, at the foot of Mill Street, formerly Carr's Lane, and on the property of Caleb Carr. The landing on Conanicut was about opposite the south end of Gould Island, at the east end of North Ferry Road, now Eldred Avenue. The old stone wharf is still to be seen and is sometimes referred to as Howland's Wharf. North Ferry Road extended directly west to the west shore, and while there is no wharf in evidence at this point, the stones along the shore seem to be the remains of what once was a stone wharf. The landing for this west ferry on the mainland was at Plum Beach.

It is hard to determine just how long the ferries were operated at these points, but in 1709 we find that John Carr, son of Caleb, was granted a petition for the renewal of his license. At the same time a license was granted to Robert Barker to operate a ferry from Jamestown to Newport, thus giving two ferries between Newport and Jamestown. On the west side a license was granted to Capt. Josiah Arnold and also one to John and Jeremiah Smith to operate from Boston Neck. This seems a superabundance, but it must be remembered that these "ferries" were simply sailboats, operating at the mercy of wind and tide. Dr. McSpar-

[1] *Rhode Island Ferries* by Dr. and Mrs. Charles V. Chapin, also R. I. Hist. Coll. XIV, 111.

ron tells of catching a ferry just before a storm and the ferry did not sail again for two days, and on the east side a boat once left Newport in the afternoon, got caught in the ice off Rose Island and was carried through the passage, beyond Brenton's Reef, not arriving at Jamestown until late the next morning.

The ferry from Newport to Jamestown was owned by descendants of Caleb Carr until 1873, a period of 178 years. The other ferries changed hands frequently. At one time the colony undertook to operate the west ferry, but soon gave it up and sold all the equipment and rights to Abel Franklin for "the sum of Three Thousand and Five Hundred Pounds in good and passable bills of public credit of said Colony old Tenor." (This was the time during which the Colony was experimenting with fiat money; the amount paid was worth less than £500 silver money.)

In 1873 the Jamestown and Newport Ferry Company was organized and the Steamer Jamestown began her regular trips. But at the northern end of the island was a ferry, so called, which operated only Saturdays, the day the farmers "went to town" to trade their produce. The boat left from the foot of Carr's Lane. The gathering farmers would sit on the water fence awaiting the arrival of Sam Wright, whose "Goot morning, chentlemens, if such ye be" was the real signal for departure. But the newly organized ferry company objected to even this competition. The boat was purchased and the last sail boat ferry to Newport disappeared from the island.

The record of the Carr family in connection with the ferry is quite remarkable. Caleb Carr founded the first ferry sometime before 1695, his son John received the first license to operate the ferry in 1709. Ownership of the ferry was handed down from father to son through five generations of Samuel Carrs to 1873. George C. Carr was organizer and first president (1873-1902) of the Jamestown and Newport Ferry Company; Thomas G. Carr was president, 1902-1908, and his son, George C. Carr, has been treasurer,

except for one year, since 1913. So, except for eleven years, a descendant of Caleb Carr has owned the Newport ferry or been an officer in the ferry company from 1675 to the present time—a period of 259 years.

In following the history of the ferries we see the development of the island. But there is other evidence. Back in 1678, when there were but two sailboat ferries operating, we find a petition by Caleb Carr and Francis Brinley to the General Assembly to incorporate the town. This was granted on November 4th the same year, "the inhabitants to have the same priviledges and libertyes as were granted to New Shoreham." The new town was named James Towne, in honor of James I of England.

At the first town meeting the records show the following officers elected:

TOWN MEETING FOR THE ELECTION OF OFFICERS

April 1679

John Fones chosen Moderator — Engaged
John Fones chosen clerk of said town — Engaged
Mr. Caleb Carr, Sen'r., Mr. Francis Brinley, Caleb Carr, Jun'r., and Nicholas Carr chosen to be Town Counsell — Engaged
Ebenezer Slocum and Michaell Kally chosen to be the two constables of the said town, but Michaell Kally obstinately Refusing to take his engagement to said office, Caleb Carr, Jun'r. chosen in his stead
Ebenezer Slocum and Caleb Carr, Jun'r. Engaged to their said offices.
Peter Wells chosen town sargeant — Engaged
Nicholas Carr and Caleb Carr, Jun'r. chosen to be viewers of cattle, sheeps Swine and Horses wich may be carried or transported from this Township.

John Fones
Ebenezer Slocum ye two deputies for ye court.

The first town hall was on the North Road just south of North Ferry Road. The inhabitants were predominantly farmers and the vision of a settlement on the town plots, four miles south of North Ferry Road, was not realized until many years later. The only part of the town plot which was used was the Artillery Garden. It was evidently intended to have this for a village green but it was early used for a burial ground and is so used today. There are stones standing that bear dates in the early 1700's.

There were four main highways, one running across the island on the old Indian trail through the proposed town plot. One ran north and south from this road to the north end of the island, another from the Indian trail south to the beach, and the other, North Ferry Road, ran east and west connecting the ferries. But many of the farms did not touch any of these highways, so an interminable number of roads were laid out. These were not fenced and many ran through other men's property. This led to endless trouble and lasted many years. There is a story told about the proposal to close one of these roads because it was not used. This was opposed by Robert Watson and to prove that it was used, he yoked up his oxen to the ox cart and drove up and down it all day with his wife contentedly knitting, seated in a chair placed in the cart. That night the opposition felled a number of trees, thus closing the road, but old Robert cleared these up the next morning and resumed his solemn journey. In the end, however, he lost out and the road was closed. A later owner of the property deeded that part of the farm back to the town to be used for a road if it was ever thought best to open it again. This happened some seventy-five years ago and was the last of the controversies regarding roads.

The story of these old roads naturally leads to the old houses. It will be recalled that Francis Brinley stated that "John Green was the first to improve his land etc." As near

as can be determined he built his house about 1672 on what is now known as Shoreby Hill. The house still stands but has been so rebuilt, repaired and added to that all trace of the original house is lost. There are portions of the eastern part that possibly have the original timbers. Joseph Greene, a Quaker and a descendant of John, who gave this farm in trust for the benefit of the Friend's Church, described it as, "My farm on the Island of Conanicut known by the name of the Greene Farm, and the house thereon standing in which I now live (where my predecessors of the same name have lived for generations back, if not from the first settlement of the Island by English Emigrants)." Among the stipulations of his will, he ordered that his clock be kept in the southeast corner of the east front room and that the west front chamber be kept in constant readiness for "Ministers and others traveling in the service of Truth." The room was to be furnished with "two good bedsteads, two beds, two bolsters, two pair of pillows, and other necessary furniture." This will was contested, and was in court many years before it was finally broken.

Another of the old houses is the Samuel Carr House, located on the North Road near the center of the island about four miles north of the Green farmhouse. It was built about 1686 by Governor Caleb Carr for his son Edward. Like the old Bull house in Newport, it was built partly of wood and partly of stone. The stones of the western end are different from any found on Conanicut and are laid in the same kind of mortar as was found in the Bull house and the Old Stone Mill. The walls were twenty or more inches thick. Like the Greene farmhouse it has been rebuilt and repaired. The immense chimney, which was in the outer wall of the house, fell during a gale and the eastern half has been rebuilt. It was occupied up to two years ago but is now deserted and uncared for.

About three miles northeast of the Edward Carr house is the house built by Capt. Thomas Paine, about 1680. It is now the summer residence of Robert Vose. This house, also,

has been rebuilt and enlarged but still retains the immense chimney with its old-fashioned fireplaces, the uncovered beams in the ceiling, and a quaint china closet with glass doors built in the corner of the front room. Unlike the other old houses on the island, this one has its front door on the east instead of the south.

Capt. Paine was commander of one of the first privateer vessels sailing out of Narragansett Bay. In 1690 a fleet of seven French privateers appeared off the New England coast, capturing Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and Block Island. Capt. Paine with two sloops and ninety men was sent against them. Off Block Island he encountered five of them and, though greatly outnumbered, engaged the enemy until night separated them. The next day the French put to sea, but Capt. Paine gave chase and compelled them to sink a prize loaded with wines and brandy.

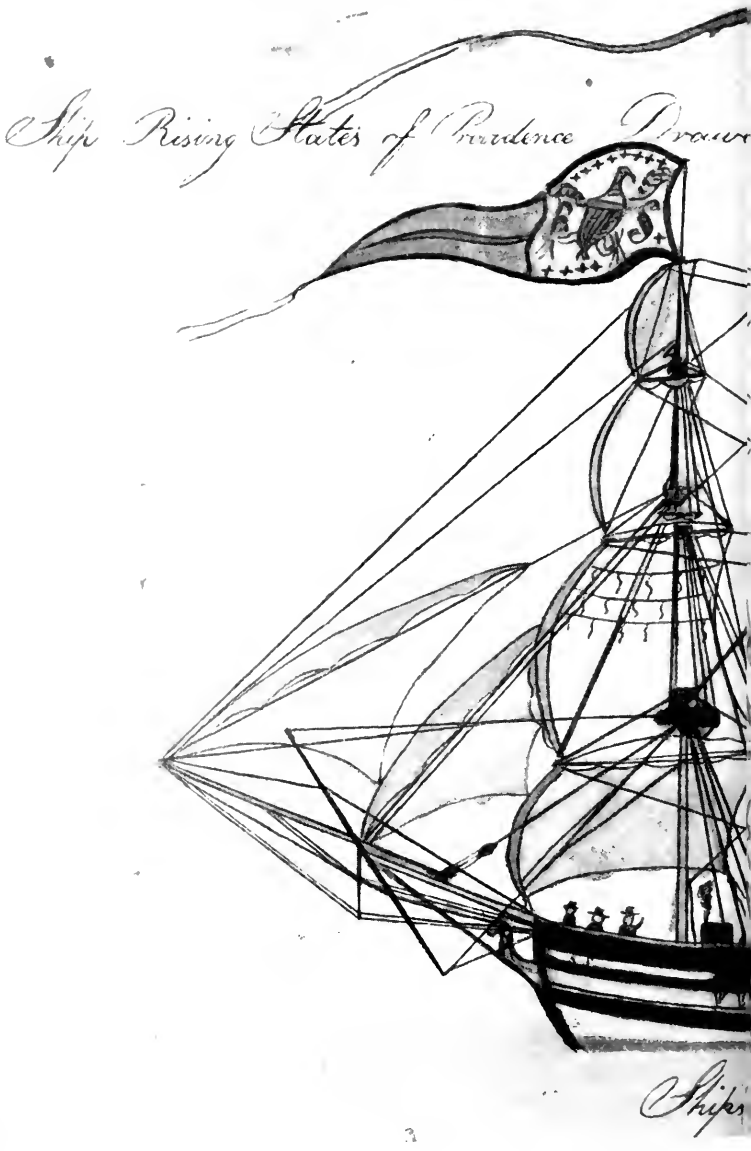
From the records it would seem that Capt. Paine did a little privateering on his own account. He was an intimate friend of the famous Capt. Kidd, who visited him at Jamestown.[1] Lord Bellemont's journal for Sept. 26, 1699, reads: "I also examined Capt'n Thomas Paine (formerly a pirate) upon his oath, relating to goods or treasure, imported by Capt'n William Kidd, and reported to be left by Kidd with the said Paine." This same year, when Capt. Kidd and his wife were imprisoned in Boston, Mrs. Kidd wrote to Capt. Paine requesting him to give the bearer twenty-four ounces of gold for their support while in jail. In spite of the foregoing, Capt. Paine was a captain in the commissioned officers of the town and Dr. McSparron occasionally held services of the Church of England at his house. When John J. Watson owned this farm, he started the "Social Library" in 1870. This was the first library in the town, and until recent years the list of books was still pasted on the door of the cupboard where the books were kept.

About half way between the Greene farmhouse and the

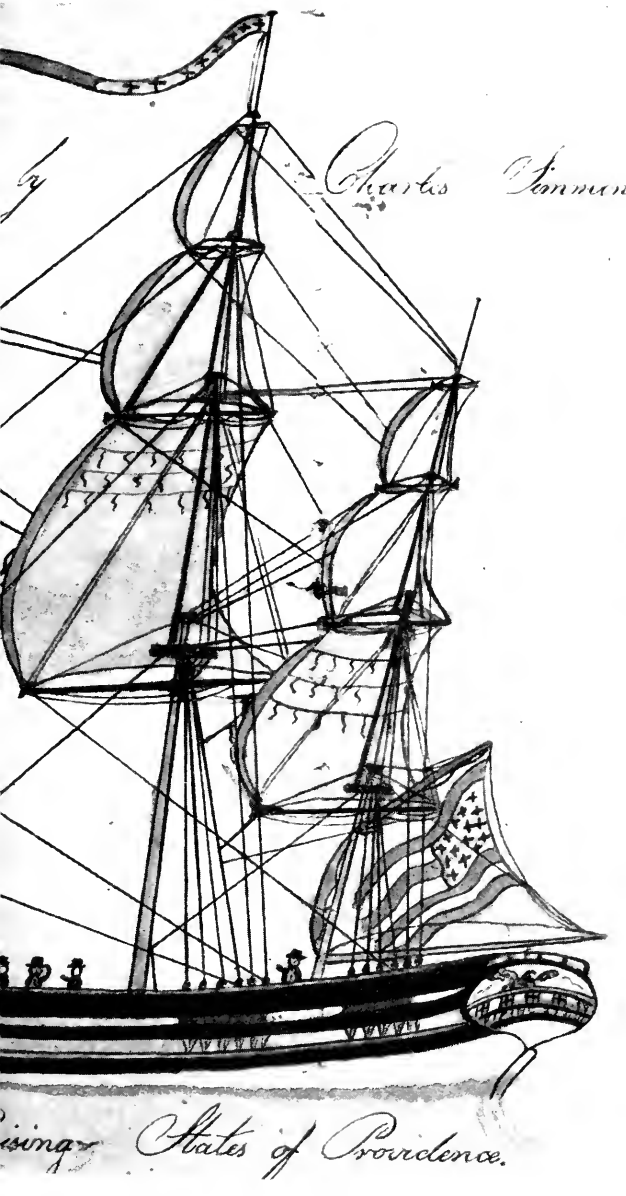
[1] R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll. XV, 97, and XXIII, 19.

Edward Carr house is the Carr homestead, built in 1776 by Nicholas Carr, grandson of Governor Caleb Carr. This is the oldest house on the island which still remains as it was originally built. It also has the unique distinction of always having been owned and inhabited by descendants of the builder. The house is built around a huge chimney having six fireplaces, one of which has the baking oven, the great cranes and the iron cooking kettles. The old grandfather's clock, which Nicholas bought of Thomas Clagget the year he built the house, still stands in the southeast corner of the east front room, accurately ticking off the seconds, and its silvery chime is but an echo of the happiness which this old house has seen. Nicholas must have had faith in his country for he built his house in troublous times, — among the objects in the museum (formerly the glass doored china closet in the parlor) is a cannon ball which was shot through the southeast corner of the house under the eaves by a British man-of-war. A story is told of an encounter Nicholas had with the captain of one of the British war vessels. He was plowing one day when this captain appeared and ordered him to give up his oxen. No attention being paid the captain drew his sword and struck Nicholas a blow on the head. Quaker though he was, Nicholas started in to defend his rights and soon a much battered British captain cried for quarter. Later in the day a file of marines seized the fighting Quaker and took him, a prisoner in irons, on board the ship. Each morning, for three days, he was brought on deck with a rope around his neck and given his choice of getting down on his knees and kissing the hand of a loyal subject of the king, or of being hanged. William Battey and another Tory named Hull, friends and neighbors of Nicholas, went aboard the ship and pleaded for their friend, who was finally liberated. This "1776 House" is one of the most picturesque places on the island.

Another interesting structure is the lighthouse at Beaver Tail. According to the records of the Department of Commerce, the first lighthouse on the continent was built on




PACKET SHIP "RISING
from a drawing dat



OF PROVIDENCE
mber 9, 1812

*From original owned by C. Prescott Knight, Esq.*

Little Brewster Island, at the entrance to Boston Harbor, in 1715-16 by the order and at the expense of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, being first lighted September 14, 1716, old style.

The first real lighthouse on Conanicut, recognized as such, was built at Beaver Tail in 1749. But in the Proprietors Records for the 10th day of the second month, 1705, it was ordered "that there shall be a chimney built to the Watch house of Beaver Tail." Again on the 9th day of June, 1712, "At a meeting of the Town Counsell called by the Governors order to sett a watch and build a Beacon. It is ordered that John Hull grant a warrant to Gershom Remington to warn the Indians to build a beacon as soon as possible. It is further ordered that John Hull grant forth a warrent to Benedict Arnold to look after the Watch and see that it be faithfully kept." In those days, ship building and shipping was the principal industry around the shores of Narragansett Bay, and while undoubtedly this watch and beacon were primarily established to warn against attack from the sea, it seems reasonable to believe that they might have been used for the benefit of outgoing and incoming vessels also. In which case it could be claimed that Beaver Tail was the first lighthouse.

Another of the interesting old land marks is the Wind Mill, which stands on Wind Mill Hill near the center of the northern half of the island. This mill, however, is the third and possibly the fourth mill that was built. Corn is native to this country, and was unknown to Europe until after America had become settled. It was the first gift to the white men by the Indians and immediately became the chief article of diet. To be usable it had to be ground. This the Indians did by hand, but the inventive genius of the white man early developed the water mill and later the wind mill, the one in Newport being built in 1663. It was a long journey from Jamestown to Newport and the building of a mill on the island must have been an early consideration, but when or where the first mill was built is still

unknown. On North Ferry Road, on a high hill, stands an old house the front door step of which is an old mill stone, and it is probable that the first mill was in that immediate vicinity. However, the first record of a mill is in 1728, when the Town Meeting voted that "Richard Tew and David Green go and buy stores and irons for the building of a wind-mill and that Richard Tew and Thomas Carr Provide lumber for the aforesaid mill." The mill was running in 1730. In 1738 it was voted that Nicholas Carr have the mill for his own proper estate, but in 1742 it was voted "that Gershan Remington and John Martin is apinted to talk to Nicholas Carr to keep the mill in Repare." Nicholas had moved to Newport and what happened to the mill is unknown. It is thought to have stood somewhat north of the present mill.

It is evident that the town was without a mill in 1760 for a vote to build a new mill was passed in the negative. It was again before the town meeting in 1768 and was again voted down. Not until 1787 was the matter again considered, when a committee was appointed to investigate the cost. They proved themselves thrifty men by petitioning the General Assembly for the grant of a part of Col. Joseph Wanton's farm which had been confiscated. Wanton was a Tory and had left the island when the British evacuated Newport. The petition was granted and the town was given half an acre for this purpose. If, however, the mill became useless or unused for a period of two years, the land was to revert to the state. The mill was built and part of the money was raised by the sale of the highways "running between the North Point Farm and Jonathan Hopkins' and Tiddeman Hull's, and the highway running through Joseph Martin's Farm."

Jethro Briggs was the first miller and was required to give bond in money or "as much corn as one hundred dollars will purchase." Briggs moved to Newport in 1793 and the mill was without a miller. In 1795 it was sold at public auction to Benjamin Carr, but evidently he never took pos-

session, for the next year Briggs sold it to Nathan Munroe for 301 Spanish milled dollars. The record is now complete down to 1893, having been owned by ten persons in that period. The highest price, $3,000, was paid by Isaac W. Potter in 1874. Thomas A. H. Tefft was the last operating owner and his brother Jesse, the last miller (1896).

The mill remained idle for many years and was fast falling to decay. In 1904, through the instrumentality of Mrs. Frank H. Rosengarten and a number of the summer residents and the residents of the Carr Homestead, money was raised and an informal Wind Mill Society was formed. The deed was retained by Mrs. Rosengarten until 1912, when the Historical Society, first proposed by Mrs. Elizabeth Carr Locke of Los Angeles, was formed. The two societies combined under the name of the Jamestown Historical Society, with Miss Lena H. Clarke as the first president. The old mill is now in almost complete repair, although is not as yet in such mechanical condition as to be in actual operation.

Turning from the commercial to the spiritual, we have the Quaker Meeting House. Here again we must go back many years before the present building. When the compact of government was drawn up for the settlement at Pocasset, it read in part: "It is ordered that none shall be accounted a delinquent for doctrine," and so well was this observed that Cotton Mather said, "I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on such a small spot of ground—if a man had lost his religion he might find it at the general muster of the opinionists." About 1648, George Fox founded the Society of Friends in England and, in spite of persecution and imprisonment, the society grew in numbers and were zealous in spreading their belief. In this country the only welcoming hand was extended by Newport; even Roger Williams was active against them. As early as 1656, Quakers had become settled in Newport. Fox himself preached there in 1672, and by 1700 Quakerism had affected the entire population of the island. The

leading citizens were active members of the society. As a natural consequence the large majority of the settlers of Jamestown were Quakers. The attendance at the Newport Meetings was infrequent and meetings were soon held at members' houses. An entry in the Newport Meeting records reads, "At a man and womens meeting at ye house of Mathew Borden the 24th Day 12 mo, 1684 this meeting has thought fit with the approbation of Jamestown alias Quononoquott to sett a quarterly meeting at Nicholas Carrs in said town to begin the second day after our monthly meeting in the first month next." In 1693 Thomas Chalkley preached on Jamestown. For the "14th of 4th mo 1709" the Newport records read, "it was proposed at this meeting by Representatives of Jamestown yt there is necessity of building a meeting house at Jamestown which is referred to next monthly meeting." The records for the meeting read, "ye 9th day e 6 mo. 1709. This meeting doth give leave for the friends of Jamestown to build a meeting house on their island."

In the Land Evidence records for 1710 there is recorded a deed of the "land on which a meeting house stands in which the people called Quakers usually meet." This definitely establishes that the first meeting house was built 1709-10. Also by this deed the location is established on the north side of North Ferry Road, now Cemetery Lane, in what is now known as the old cemetery. A few years ago funds were raised to clear up this old cemetery, which was all overgrown with brush and trees. After this was done and the old grave stones set up and repaired, there, in the south east corner, directly in front of the entrance, was a clear space, entirely free from graves, where, undoubtedly, stood this first meeting house.

The next twenty-three years passed without anything of particular interest except the general growth of the settlement. It has been previously noted that, as the numbers on the island increased, the center of population crept towards

the south. This brought about the next change which is best told by the records themselves.

25 of the 10 mo 1733

"This meeting having had futher conference concerning Jamestown meeting house, it is desired that the friends of that town do consider among themselves whether it may not be for the General Service and Benefit to Remove s'd meeting house or dispose of that and build another at some other more convenient place and make a full return of their minds in that matter to our next Mo meeting and David Green is desired to acquaint the friends of Jamestown accordingly."

Newport 29th ye 11th mo 1733

"This meeting being informed that the persons that the deed of Jamestown meeting house was made to, are all deceased excepting David Green therefore this meeting doth desire David Green to make a deed of Conveyance of s'd house & the land belonging thereto to Daniel Weeden, John Hull, Tho Carr and David Green Jr. and make report to next monthly meeting.

"Whereas Jamestown friends are desirous to build a new meeting house on their Island and Nicholas Carr signified that he is willing to give as much land as is needful for that purpose and this meeting desires said Nicholas Carr to pass a deed of conveyance for the s'd purpose to Sam'l Clarke, Daniel Weeden, Tho Carr and John Hull and make report to next Mo meeting."

Newport 26th da 1 mo 1734

"Sam'l Clarke makes report that Nicholas Carr hath passed a deed of conveyance of a quarter of an acre at Jamestown to set a new meeting house on, to the Persons nominated at a former Mo. meeting."

Portsmouth 27th ye 6 mo 1734

"This meeting doth desire Sam'l Clarke and Nicholas Carr to Remove the old meeting house at Jamestown to the place where is appointed to build the new meeting house and to build an addition or 18 foot leantew fashion with a chimney at the end and see what subscription they can get and make report to our next Mo. meeting."

Newport 26th of the 9th mo. 1734

"Nicholas Carr and Sam'l Clarke brought an acc't of charge for moving & building their meeting house amounting to £114 - 4 - 10 which is allowed and ordered to be paid by John Casey out of the meeting stock."

The deed of Nicholas Carr appears in the Land Evidence Records for March 31, 1734, and by the boundaries given, we find the land is that on which the present meeting house stands. Peace and contentment reigned for many years. But in 1775 the British fleet sailed into the harbor and took possession of Newport and the fortified parts of Jamestown. This critical period in the history of the island will be taken up later. The effect of this occupation on the meeting house is again best told by the records.

Newport 26th. 3 mo 1776

"This meeting being informed that Friends have mostly moved from Jamestown therefore this meeting doth appoint Gould Marsh & Thomas Gould Jun. to inquire into circumstances of S'd Friends & the meeting there & report to next monthly meeting."

Newport 28th 5 mo 1776

"The Friends who had the care of the matter respecting friends at Jamestown made return which is accepted as followeth:

Newport 5 of the 5 mo 1776

"Agreeable to appointment we have made some inquiry respecting the Meeting & Meeting House of Friends at Jamestown and were informed that some time in the tenth month that most friends belonging thereto left the Island whereby the meeting ceased and that the soldiers possessed themselves of the House which suffered considerably from them in which condition it still remains and but one family of friends as yet returned and settled on the Island."

Newport 25 of 7 mo 1776

"The Preparative Meeting of Newport informed that Friends at Jamestown had represented to them that they have for some time past laboured under some disadvantage in regard to holding their Meeting at Private Houses and proposed for Friends approbation for their better accommodation whereupon we appoint Robert Dennis, Isaac Lawton, Richard Mitchell, Gould Marsh and William Almy to confer with Friends at Jamestown aforesaid, respecting the above."

Newport 26th of 9th mo 1786

The committee appointed to confer with friends at

James Town respecting the Building a Meeting House reported as follows, viz,

"According to our appointment, we have conferred with the Friends of Jamestown respecting building a Meeting house at that place, and it is our Judgement that it may be well that there be one built, provided that it can be accomplished in the way by them proposed viz to procure Mon'ies by subscription to purchase the material and to do the Labour at their own expense And think that a building 26 ft. by 20 of one story high, sufficiently capacious to accommodate them."

*(To be continued)*

# Genealogical Notes

*By* EDWARD H. WEST

## DANIEL WILCOX

Who was the first wife of Daniel Wilcox? Elizabeth Cook must have been his second wife, for in the deed to Edward Lay in 1661, he reserved a rod of land for the grave of his buried wife.

In a corner of a jog of land just north of this land are three unmarked grave stones. I do not think that they are Wilcox stones, but in the wall, where they have been moved from the middle of the lot, are three fragments of stones. On one of them is the inscription

"Samwell Wilcock 1689."

I think it possible that Daniel Wilcox (2) was the son of the first wife.*

## THOMAS COOK OF PORTSMOUTH

This article is to show that the names of the wives of Thomas Cook, Sr., and of his son, Capt. Thomas Cook, as

*The same conclusion is reached by G. Andrews Moriarty in the N. E. H. & G. Reg., Jan. 1933, p. 74, wherein he quotes from R. I. H. S. Collections of July 1932.

given by Austin and other Cook lists are not correct; also, there is to be a change in the children.

Thomas Cook, Sr., in his will, left the daughters of his dec. son, Thomas Cook, 14 pounds apiece, his Exx. to be wife Mary (his 2nd wife).

In 1693 (L. E. I.-307) Oliver Arnold gave receipt to Jeremiah Brown of Newport, now husband of Mary, late widow of the dec. Thomas Cook, for the sum of 15 pounds, the legacy left said Arnold's wife, Phebe, by the will of her g-father, Thomas Cook.

Thomas Cook, Sr., must have been at least 64 years of age at the time of his death, going by the birth date of his son John (1631).

His 2nd wife, Mary, must have been much younger, as she married again after his death in 1674, and was living in 1692.

The will of William Havens mentions his daughter, Mary Cook. She must have been born about 1655, as her older brother, George, was born in 1653. This would make her age compare with the above condition, and what follows shows that she was not the wife of Capt. Thomas, as he had wife Thomasin and not Mary.

12 Oct. 1670, "Whereas Capt. Thomas Cook of Portsmouth late deceased and left a verbal will - - - - - leaving his wife Exx. and she in her lifetime time not aplying her self according to law to prove sayd will was thereby incapsitated to make a will for the Disposal of her sayd Husbands Estate - - - - - - - whereupon the eldist son and Heir of the dec. Capt. Thomas Cook having aplyed himself unto us the Counsell of the Town of Portsmouth, for our assistance in the setling of his dec. fathers Estate - - - - - - - Wee have and do hereby apoynt Thomas Cook, eldist son of the afore named Capt. Thomas Cook, to be the whole and sole Exicutor unto the whole Estate of the Sayd Capt. Thomas Cook and the late Deceased widow Thomasin Cook."

"Said Thomas to have the whole estate, he paying all debts of his deceased parents as well as the following legacies.

"- - - - shall pay unto his brothers namely John, George, Steven and Ebenezer Cook to each of them - - - - - - at the age of 20 years 10 s.

"We also order that the said Thomas Cook shall pay unto his sisters, namely Sarah, the wife of Peter Parker, Mary the wife of Thomas Langford, Elizabeth, Phebe, and Martha Cook, to each 5 s apiece."

This shows that Sarah was not the daughter of Thomas, Sr.

Also it gives another Cook daughter, Mary Langford.

In a deposition of Thomas Cook taken in Newport, 22 July 1719, about the estates of Isaac and Thomas Lawton, he calls himself 62 years or thereabouts, which would make his birth about 1657.

(Loose Paper, State House.)

Mary Langford's will mentions her husband's child and gives its some clothes that were its own mother's. She also mentions sister Sarah Parker and her brother Thomas. (Scrap Book, Portsmouth.)

The will of Thomas Langford makes wife Mary sole Exx., and he also "gives my whole estate with the power and taking care of my son Thomas." (Scrap Book) He does not mention the son John that Austin gives him.

Inventory of the goods of Mary Langford "who departed this life on the 17 day of feb 1670." (Scrap Book)

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*Notes on the Rhode Island Admiralty*, 1727-1790, by Frederick Bernays Wiener, is a pamphlet reprinted from *The Harvard Law Review*, 1932, vol. XLVI, No. 1.

The June 1932 *Bulletin of the Jamestown Historical Society* contains an article on *Old Jamestown* by Maria A. Carr.

*A Spaniard's Visit to Newport in 1784*, a translation by Don Juan de Riano of Francisco Miranda's diary, is printed in the October 1932 *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society*.

*The Auchmuty Family of Scotland and America* by Annette Townsend contains a biographical sketch and portrait of Judge Robert Auchmuty.

*Carrie Tower*, a poem by Harry Paul Taylor, illustrated by Stacy Tolman, East Providence, 1932, was printed as a pamphlet.

*A Map of the Acquidnesset or North Purchase of the Atherton Partners* is the title of a pamphlet issued in December by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island.

*Sheffield, Daggett and Allied Families* is an illustrated volume of 273 pages, issued by the American Historical Society.

A biography of *John Underhill* by Henry C. Shelley contains several references to colonial Rhode Island.

*The Journal of American History* for 1932 contains an article on *The Rock-Inscriptions of New England — Miguel Cortereal in Massachusetts, 1511*, by Edmund Burke Delabarre.

*Kingston Congregational Church, History, By-Laws, Membership* is a pamphlet of 20 pages issued in November 1932.

Volume III of *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade in America* by Elizabeth Donnan, which has just been published by the Carnegie Institution, contains 553 pages, of which 296 pages relate to the Rhode Island slave trade.

The *Official Gazetteer of Rhode Island* is a pamphlet of 95 pages recently issued by the United States Geographic Board.

*Supplement to Ralph Earle and His Descendants* is a pamphlet of 12 pages by Amos Earle Voorhies, printed at Grants Pass, Oregon.

*House and Garden* for December 1932 contains an article by Walter A. Dyer on *Old Tavern Signs*, illustrated with pictures of signs exhibited some years ago at the loan exhibition held by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January 1933 contains several important genealogical articles relating to several Rhode Island families, viz: Cranston, Fiske, Chase, Ginnedo and Mowry.

## Notes

Mrs. Murray S. Danforth presented to the Society a manuscript music book containing compositions by Oliver Shaw, the Rhode Island composer, in his own hand writing.

Miss Theodora Wilbour of New York presented to the Society a collection of one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of early glassware as a memorial in honor of her sister, Zoe Wilbour.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Prof. Will S. Taylor
Mrs. Earl C. Hart
Rev. William Worthington
Miss Anna Jones Dyer

## Survey of Old Rhode Island Houses

*Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island*, Part I, compiled by the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and printed by the Merrymount Press, contains 93 photographs, with descriptive and historic notes, of the exterior and the interior

of 53 houses built prior to 1830, situated in the southern portion of the present Washington County; together with an introduction by William Davis Miller, *South County Notes* by Mrs. William B. Weeden, a map of the Pettaquamscutt Purchase and two maps by Norman M. Isham showing the location of the houses described, together with the sites of houses long demolished.

This pictorial and written record of social conditions and architectural development of the early days of this portion of the State is of inestimable value both to the student and to those interested in the colonial period of Rhode Island. It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes, covering the remainder of the South County and other portions of the State, will be published in the not far distant future, so that an authoritative and comprehensive record of our early houses may be accessible to future generations, when land marks of today will be but historic record. The Society of Colonial Dames is to be congratulated for this book, the first published evidence of the exhaustive survey it has undertaken.

## Glocester, R. I.

*By* Howard M. Chapin

The question is often asked why Glocester, R. I., is spelled without the "u," while Gloucester, in England and in Massachusetts, is spelled with the "u." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spelling was not as crystallized in form as it is today, and it was not only customary but proper to spell many proper names in more than one way.

In the *Index Villaris* written by Mr. Adams of the Inner-Temple and printed in London in 1680 the County of Glocester, the city of Glocester, Glocester Hall in Oxford and Glocester in Northumberland, all in England, were spelled without the "u."

Five pamphlets written by Josiah Tucker, Dean of Glocester and printed at Glocester, England, between 1775 and 1783 give the spelling without the "u."

In a pamphlet printed in London in 1740 Gloucester is spelled with the "u," but in a book printed in Glocester, England, in 1764, the name is spelled without the "u."

William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, in his monumental work, *The Baronage of England*, printed in 1675, spelled Glocester without the "u" in his account of the earldom.

In the first quarto edition of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, which was printed in 1597, Glocester is spelled without the "u."

It will thus be seen that the spelling without the "u" was the preferable spelling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England, and that when the spelling with the "u" became fashionable in eighteenth century London, the other spelling persisted for a long time in local usage. When Glocester, R. I., was named in 1730, the spelling without the "u" which was adopted would seem to have had in its favor the weight of the precedence of historical and literary usage and authority.

# Rhode Island Historical Society Treasurer's Report

## INCOME ACCOUNT FOR YEAR 1932

RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual Dues | $2,725.00 |
| Dividends and Interest | 4,196.29 |
| Newspaper Account | 31.50 |
| Rental of Rooms | 105.00 |
| State Appropriation | 1,500.00 |
| Surplus Income Account | 130.00 |
| | $8,687.79 |

EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Binding | $ 384.63 |
| Books | 629.70 |
| Electric Light and Gas | 44.95 |
| Exhibitions | 104.92 |
| Expense | 185.62 |
| Grounds and Building | 43.45 |
| Heating | 700.00 |
| Insurance | 225.00 |
| Publication | 460.28 |
| Salaries | 5,580.00 |
| Supplies | 251.49 |
| Telephone | 69.75 |
| Water | 8.00 |
| | $8,687.79 |

## STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1932

ASSETS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Grounds and Building | | $ 25,000.00 |
| Investments: | | |
| BONDS | | |
| $4,000. | Cedars Rapids M. & P. Co., 5s, 1953 | $3,228.88 |
| 3,000. | Central Mfg. District | 3,000.00 |
| 3,000. | Cleveland Elec. Illum. Co., 5s, 1939 | 2,565.42 |
| 4,000. | Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952 | 4,003.91 |
| 1,000. | Western Electric Co., 5s, 1944 | 998.17 |
| 4,000. | 61 Broadway Bldg., 1st Mtge., 5½s, 1950 | 4,000.00 |
| 4,000. | Minnesota P. & Lt. Co., 1st 5s, 1955 | 3,930.00 |
| 4,000. | Monongahela Valley Traction Co., 1st 5s, 1942 | 3,685.00 |
| 2,000. | Ohio Power Co., 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952 | 1,974.00 |
| 2,000. | Narragansett Elec. Co., 5s, 1947 | 1,980.00 |
| 2,000. | Shell Union Oil Corp., 5s, 1947 | 1,979.00 |
| 2,000. | Koppers Gas & Coke Co., 5s, 1947 | 1,962.50 |
| 1,000. | Indianapolis Power & Lt., 1st 5s, 1957 | 994.50 |
| 1,000. | Texas Pwr. & Lt., 1st Ref. 5s, 1956 | 1,021.25 |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania R. R., Deb. 4½s, 1970 | 922.50 |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania Water & Power Co., 1st 5s, 1940 | 1,005.42 |

### Stocks

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54 shs. New York Central Railroad Co. | $3,766.47 | |
| 125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Co. | 7,638.35 | |
| 30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. | 2,112.50 | |
| 7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co. | 235.39 | |
| 40 shs. Milwaukee Elec. Ry. & Lt. Co., Pfd. | 3,900.00 | |
| 64 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co. | 5,960.05 | |
| 350 shs. Providence Gas Co. | 5,755.68 | |
| 15 shs. Providence National Bank<br>30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Bldg. | 1,800.00 | |
| 45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank | 1,050.00 | |
| 52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & S.F. Ry. Co., Com. | 6,247.85 | |
| 20 shs. American Power & Light | 1,696.50 | |
| 30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric, 4s, Pfd. | 1,906.50 | |
| 35 shs. Public Service of N. J., 5s, Pfd. | 3,327.63 | |
| 10 shs. Public Service of N. J., 5s, Cum. Pfd. | 990.00 | |
| 10 shs. Electric Bond and Share, 5s, Pfd. | 922.00 | |
| | | 84,559.47 |
| Cash on hand | | 4,408.65 |
| | | $113,968.12 |

### Liabilities

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Equipment Fund | | $ 25,000.00 |
| Permanent Endowment Fund: | | |
| Samuel M. Noyes | $12,000.00 | |
| Henry J. Steere | 10,000.00 | |
| James H. Bugbee | 6,000.00 | |
| Charles H. Smith | 5,000.00 | |
| William H. Potter | 3,000.00 | |
| Charles W. Parsons | 4,000.00 | |
| Esek A. Jillson | 2,000.00 | |
| John Wilson Smith | 1,000.00 | |
| William G. Weld | 1,000.00 | |
| Charles C. Hoskins | 1,000.00 | |
| Charles H. Atwood | 1,000.00 | |
| Edwin P. Anthony | 4,000.00 | |
| John F. Street | 1,000.00 | |
| George L. Shepley | 5,000.00 | |
| Franklin Lyceum Memorial | 734.52 | |
| | | 56,734.52 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Publication Fund: | | |
| Robert P. Brown | $ 2,000.00 | |
| Ira P. Peck | 1,000.00 | |
| William Gammell | 1,000.00 | |
| Albert J. Jones | 1,000.00 | |
| William Ely | 1,000.00 | |
| Julia Bullock | 500.00 | |
| Charles H. Smith | 100.00 | |
| | | 6,600.00 |
| Life Membership | | 5,600.00 |
| Book Fund | | 3,012.41 |
| Reserve Fund | | 1,098.37 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | | 378.27 |
| Surplus | | 13,900.87 |
| Surplus Income Account | | 1,643.68 |
| | | $113,968.12 |

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1932

### Receipts

| | |
|---|---|
| Commonwealth Edison Company (Paid) | $1,099.50 |
| Reserve Fund | 188.25 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | 312.00 |
| Life Membership | 50.00 |
| | $1,649.75 |
| Balance January 1, 1932 | 2,765.89 |
| | $4,415.64 |

### Payments

| | |
|---|---|
| Penn. Water & Power Co., 1st, 5s, 1940 (Purchased) | $1,005.42 |
| Reserve Fund | 105.25 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | 540.00 |
| | $1,650.67 |
| Balance December 31, 1932 | 2,764.97 |
| | $4,415.64 |

Respectfully submitted,

G. A. Harrington,
*Treasurer*

## Form of Legacy

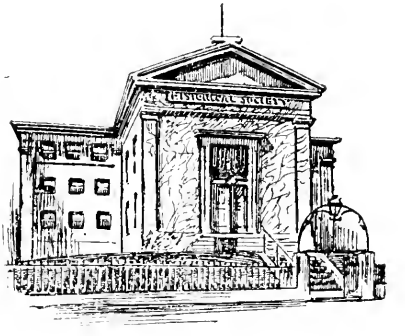
*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*
*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

PROVIDENCE

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXVI JULY, 1933 No. 3




Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI JULY, 1933 No. 3

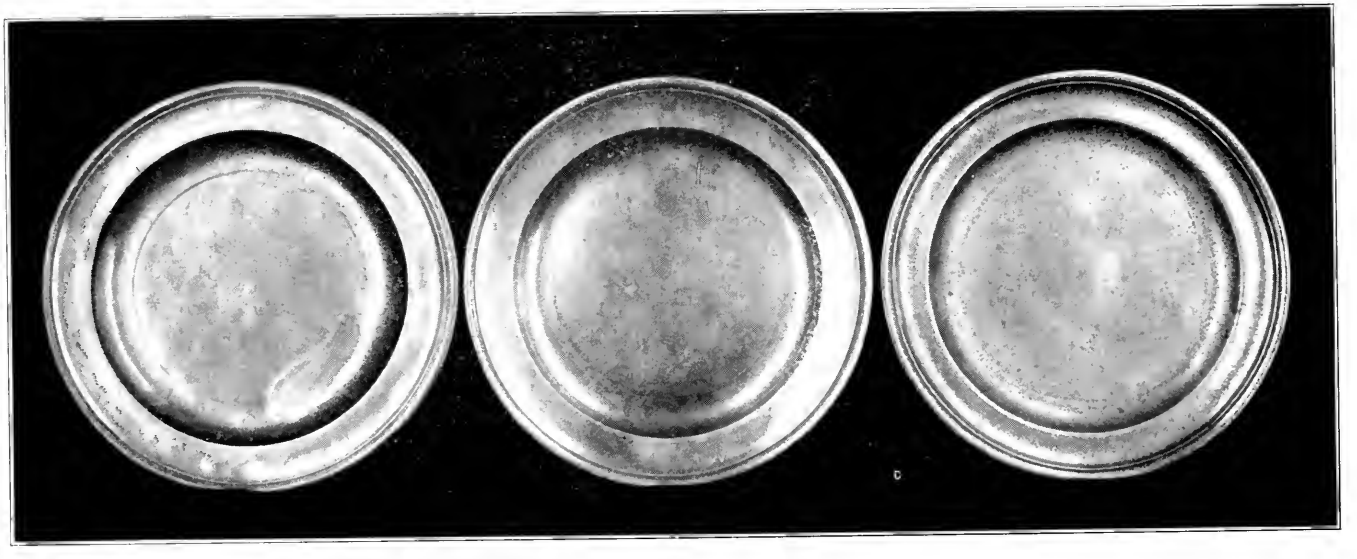
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# The Touch-Mark of Josiah Keene, Rhode Island Pewterer, 1778 or 9-1868

*By* MADELAINE R. BROWN, M.D.

Until the plate described below was located in the autumn of 1932, no example of Josiah Keene's larger touch-mark was known to collectors of American pewter. A pint porringer of the Rhode Island type, marked "I. K.," described and attributed to him in Mr. Myer's "Notes," is now in the Yale University Museum. From Mr. Calder's exhaustive study of Rhode Island pewterers published in 1924 by this quarterly, we know that Keene advertised as pewterer, coppersmith and founder in the *Providence Gazette*, October 2, 1802. The same author has also reproduced a receipt given William Calder, pewterer, by Josiah Keene in 1817 for seven varieties of moulds, including one for an eight-inch plate and one for a pint porringer.



$8\frac{1}{4}$ INCH PEWTER PLATES MADE BY

GERSHAM JONES JOSIAH KEENE WILLIAM CALDER

This 8¼ inch plate, bearing part of Keene's touch, is in such excellent condition that it could have been used very little. It is evident, therefore, that originally this mark was only partially struck. The touch is similar to that of Samuel Hamlin, and from the accompanying illustration it will be seen that the 8¼ inch plate by Gershom Jones was cast in an indentical mould, and that by William Calder probably in the same mould.

TOUCH-MARK OF
JOSIAH KEENE

The scarcity of known examples of Keene's pewter to-day may possibly be explained by two facts. First, his touch-mark may have been incompletely struck on much of his ware. Second, as Mr. Laughlin points out in the article on Keene from the manuscript of his projected book on American pewter, which he has kindly sent me, Josiah Keene was essentially a coppersmith and brass founder, making pewter only in the first few years of his business life, and finally selling his moulds in 1817.

# Biscuit City

*By* William Davis Miller

Biscuit City, or Harley's Mill as it is sometimes more accurately but less picturesquely called, has the probable distinction of being the smallest city in the country. The little cluster of houses, never appearing to have exceeded more than six in number exclusive of the mill, grouped about the "Great Spring" and the stream and mill pond fed by its unfailing flow, lies about a mile to the southwest of the village of Kingston.

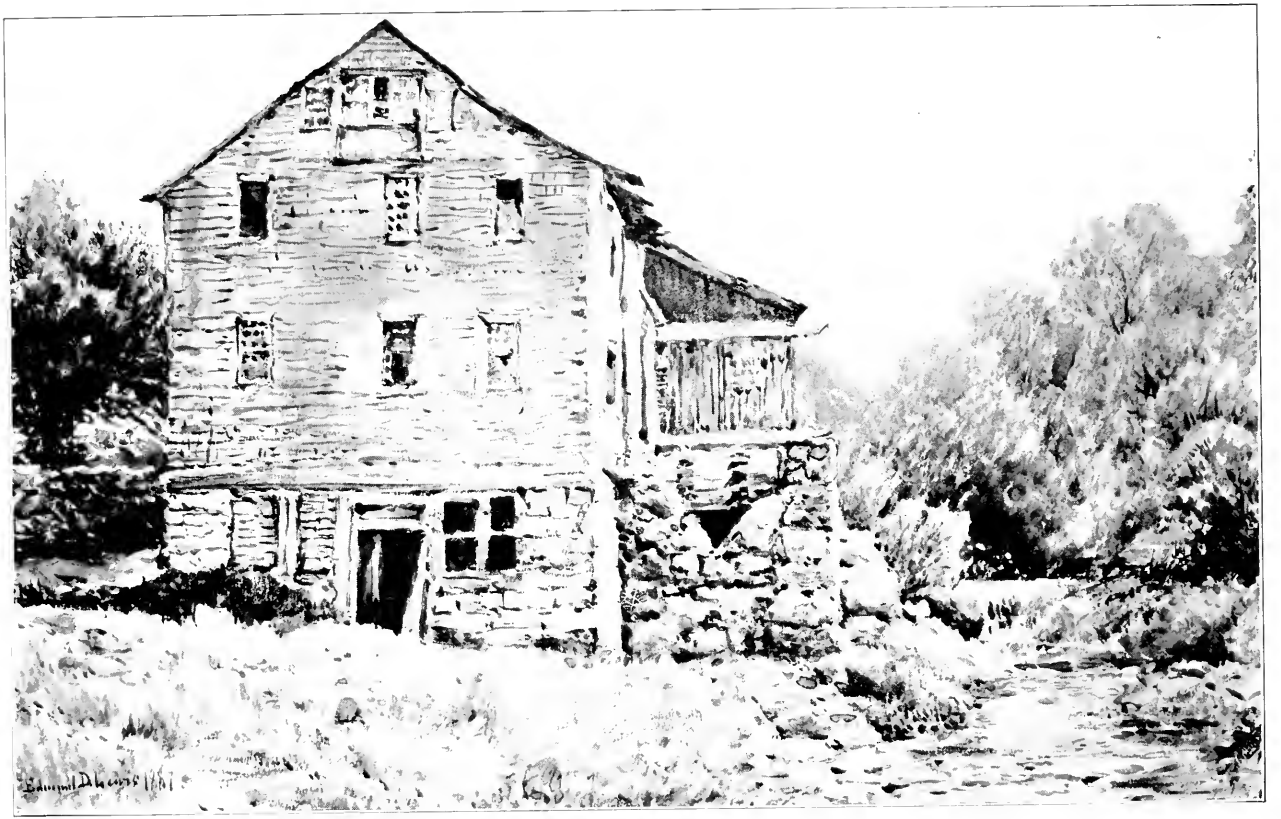
The origin of the name of this small hamlet is obscure but by tradition, and as recorded by Shepard Tom in his *Jonny Cake Papers*, it sprang from the imagination of an itinerant vendor, who, upon a visit to the little community, was so impressed by the remarkable number of biscuits being made by the housewives, that he dubbed it by the name it has ever since borne, and by which it is familiarly alluded to by the people of South Kingstown.

The lands upon which Biscuit City stood were in the central portion of that great tract purchased from the Narragansett Sachems by the Pettaquamscutt Purchasers in 1657. They in turn deeded to William Knowles, in 1671, five hundred acres of this Purchase, which included the lands under consideration. The Knowles family retained possession until 12 April 1738 when Henry Knowles sold two hundred acres to Col. Elisha Reynolds, merchant of Little Rest. The following year Reynolds purchased an additional four hundred acres from Henry Knowles, apparently the remainder of Knowles lands in that vicinity. It would appear that this last purchase, made 12 March 1739, included the spring and stream. In this deed there is mention of a house but no mention of a mill, the house being probably that, the ruins of which still remain, situated a short distance to the northwest of the mill site.

On 18 August 1788 Elisha Reynolds sold sixteen acres and twenty-eight rods to John Larkin. This would seem to be the beginning of the mercantile era of the "City," for while the deed mentions "a dwelling house there on standing," mentions the "Great Spring at the head of the Mill Pond," and gives to Larkin right to "open the brook that comes from Samuel Tefts land across sd grantors land" no direct mention is made of a mill. However when, on 25 May 1795, Larkin sold these lands to John Taylor Nichols, the saddler of Little Rest, whose shop adjoined the old Bank in the village, the land is described as "with a dwelling house and a Grist Mill thereon standing." Larkin bought an additional four acres adjoining his land on the east from Elisha Reynolds in 1791.

Nichols operated the mill less than two years selling out to Jonathan Babcock, "Schoolmaster alias Yoeman," on 21 February 1797. Nichols, however, retained the upper portion of the mill pond and the "Great Spring" but bound himself "Not to alter the course or Stop the water which Runs from the great Spring into the Mill Pond and all other water Courses which Vent it Selfe into Said Pond and to Drownd as much of the land which Belongs to Said Nichols as May happen at any Uncommon Rise of Water in Said Mill Pond from Freshets or otherwise." This upper portion of the land, ten acres, Nichols sold to Elisha Reynolds Potter in 1801 who in turn, six years later, sold two acres to Babcock.

In 1808, Biscuit City reached the height of its activity and was to achieve additional distinction. On the sixteenth of March of that year, Jonathan Babcock, having laid aside his title of "School Master" and styling himself "Miller," sold four and one-half acres and twenty-five rods of his land, excluding his home, the old house mentioned in the earlier deeds, to "The President, Directors and Company of South Kingstown Cotton Manufactury," said to be the first company to be organized in the United States for the manufacture of cotton cloth. The deed recites the officers



THE BISCUIT CITY MILL

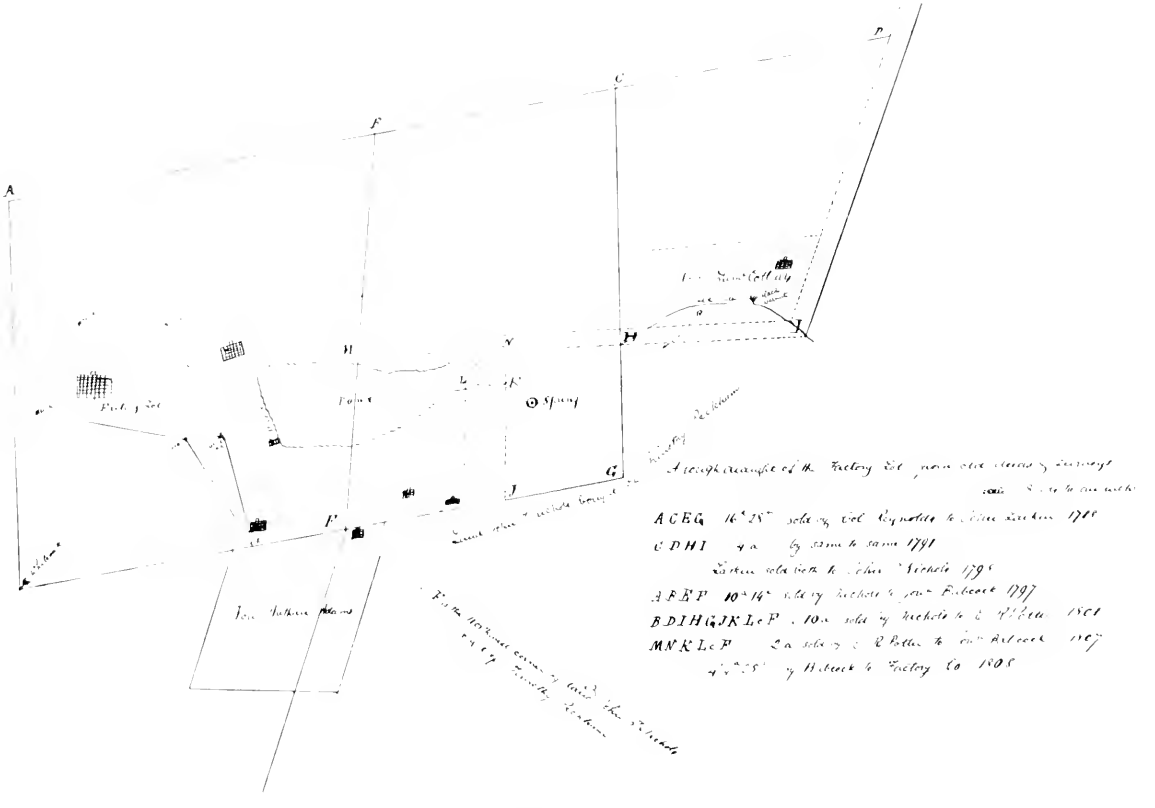
*From a water color sketch by Edmund D. Lewis, dated 1887*

*(Reproduced through the courtesy of Miss Mary LeMoine Potter)*

as follows: "James Helme President, Rowland Hazard, James Shearman, Cyrus French, William Peckham."

The old approach to Biscuit City and the mill was by a right of way across the lands of Elisha Reynolds, later in possession of Elisha Reynolds Potter, at the western foot of Little Rest Hill, leaving the road to the present West Kingston at a point adjacent to where that road crosses Whitehorn Brook. In 1809, Potter deeded "the copartners & proprietors of the Cotton Factory" a piece of land to be "used and occupied as a road or public highway across the lands of the grantor" the consideration being that the Company release the old right of way to Potter. This road was laid out and is the present approach to Biscuit City. This deed is of interest as it gives a more complete list of those interested in the South Kingstown Cotton Manufactury (alias The Cotton Factory, alias the Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company): "Levi Bradford, Hezekial Babcock, Jonathan Babcock, John G. Clarke, Cyrus French, Elisha R. Gardner, Benj$^{n}$ Greene, Rowland Hazard, James Helme, Joseph M. Knowles, Robert Knowles, Geo Hazard, John T. Nichols, Wm. Nichols, Wm. Peckham, Wm. Peckham, Jr., James Sherman, John R. Sherman, John Segar, Chr. Robinson, Borden Rathbun, Benj$^{n}$ Wright, Elisha Watson, Jr., Jos. Reynolds, Benjn Congdon & John C. Helme being the copartners & proprietors—"

For eleven years the Cotton Factory, to use the shortest of the several names, would appear to have continued operation with diminishing success, and then sold, on 2 January 1819, the land it had received from Babcock to Rouse C. Clarke, Jr., of Richmond "with a large building thereon with water wheels & other wheels & gear viz: all the geer that is immediately connected with the wheels, two dwelling homes & other out buildings." The consideration the Company received would seem indicative of their financial condition. It was "the sum of two thousand dol-




BISCUIT CITY

*(From "a rough draught" made by Judge Elisha R. Potter.)*

lars paid the cashier of the Narragansett Bank to our use being part of the debt due to sd Bank from sd Company."

After the sale to Clarke the land transfers became complicated and the lands were divided into small holdings, causing one amusing situation wherein Clarke in 1820 owned the door yeard of the old house still occupied, apparently, by Jonathan Babcock. This was restored to Babcock, however, in 1824 by formal deed duly recorded. Clarke operated the old mill not for textiles but for the manufacture of carriages and wagons. He sold out to Asa Potter on 10 June 1829, having previously sold some of the land to Elisha Reynolds Potter, who owned the land surrounding the "City." Clarke deeded "lock, stock and barrel" for the deed lists a remarkable number of carriages and wagons, completed and unfinished, together with the tools and gear necessary to their manufacture.

On 11 November 1830 Asa Potter sold the Mill property by auction, the successful bidders being Solomon S. Harley and George C. Clarke. Harley operated the mill as a grist mill for many years and on 23 May 1866 the land, "with a grist mill—formerly known as the Narragansett Factory," having come to John Henry Wells and his wife, partly by inheritance, partly by purchase and partly by exchange, was conveyed to Judge Elisha Reynolds Potter, great grandson of Elisha Reynolds, who had purchased it over a hundred years before. It remained in the Potter family until recently when the "Great Spring" was utilized as an auxiliary source to the water supply for the village of Kingston and the lands immediately adjacent were acquired by a Company formed for this purpose.

With the old mill and the Jonathan Babcock house in ruins, with only two of the other houses standing and with the "Great Spring" diverted to other uses, Biscuit City is now but a name and a memory.

# New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*History and Genealogy of the Ancestors and Some Descendants of Stukely Westcott* by Roscoe L. Whitman is a volume of 435 pages, published by the Otsego Pub. Co., Oneonta, N. Y.

The *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* for April 1933, contains the translation of several letters and papers relating to the French forces in Rhode Island during the Revolution and also an account of P. F. Little, the Little Compton printer.

*Negroes on the Island of Rhode Island* by Charles A. Battle is a pamphlet of 38 pages published at Newport, in 1932.

*Obadiah Holmes, Ancestor and Prototype of Abraham Lincoln* by Rev. Wilbur Nelson is a pamphlet of 20 pages printed at Newport, in 1932.

*Letter of Instructions to the Captain and the Supercargo of the Brig "Agenoria," Engaged in a Trading Voyage to Africa*, in 1832 and 1833, with other papers connected with the voyage, is a pamphlet of 46 pages privately printed for Howard Greene of Milwaukee, and Arnold G. Talbot of Philadelphia. The *Agenoria* was a Providence vessel.

The *Mariner* for January 1933, contains the articles of agreement for the building of a ship at Warren, R. I., in 1747.

*The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, published by Dartmouth College, contains over thirty pages of letters written by Narragansett Indians from 1765 to 1778.

*Antiques* for April 1933, contains an illustrated article by Ruel P. Tolman on *Other Malbone Miniatures.*

*Historic Newport* is an attractive and interesting illustrated booklet recently issued by the Newport Chamber of Commerce.

Volume 1 of *Richmond Family Records* by Henry I. Richmond, M.A., Sc.B., of Little Compton, R. I., has just been published by Adlard & Son, London. It is a volume of 232 pages dealing in exhaustive detail with the Richmonds of Maryland, Virginia, New England, Ireland, and Somerset, England. Mr. Richmond has devoted many years to research relating to the Richmond family.

The May 1933 *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* contains some letters of Samuel Slater, and a letter to Moses Lopez of Newport in regard to the manufacture of potash.

## Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. A. L. Grant
Capt. Ernest H. Brownell
Mrs. George E. Downing
Mrs. Alden L. Littlefield
Mr. Horace M. Peck

## A Short History of Jamestown

*By* W. L. Watson

(*Continued from page* 59)

In the records of the Newport Meeting for the 24th of the 6th month 1788, it is stated that the money raised for building a new meeting house was not sufficient and it was voted that £7-11-5 pence be paid out of the general treasury. It is thus conclusive that the new meeting house, which is the one now standing, was built in 1786 or 1787. And so we have the records of the building which is now standing and which, during the summer months, is still opened for "Quaker Meeting."

So firmly was Quakerism established on the island that, for a period of 132 years after the first meeting house was built, no other religious sect had a place of worship, although Dr. McSparron made frequent visits and held services of the Church of England in private residences, particularly those of Capt. Paine, Bro. Arnold and Mr. Martin.

After holding services in the old North School House for some time the first Baptist Society built their meeting house in 1841-2, and an agreement appears on their records whereby they allowed the Seventh Day Baptists to use it. This little meeting house still stands on the North Road just south of Carr's Lane. The church on Narragansett Avenue, which is now used, was built in 1891, by the Central Baptist Society.

In 1836 there was only "one person on the island in communication with the Episcopal Church." In 1837 the parish was admitted to the Episcopal Union. The Rev. Edward Wayland was the first minister. In 1878 Rev. Dr. Magill of Trinity Church, Newport, took it as a mission and in 1896 it became an independent congregation.

In 1890 the Roman Catholic Church celebrated its first mass at the Thorndyke Hotel. For fourteen years the parish was continued as a mission of St. Mary's Church, Newport. In 1909 it was established as a permanent parish.

But now we must retrace our steps somewhat. In sketching the various activities and growth of the town, it has undoubtedly been noticed that every one of them suffered by the Revolutionary War. This was the most critical as well as the most disastrous period in the town's history.

From 1730 to just before the war, it must be remembered, Newport was at the height of its prosperity, surpassing New York as a commercial center. Over 200 vessels were engaged in foreign trade and over 400 coasting vessels sailed from this harbor as well as a regular line of packets to London. Thousands of seamen thronged the docks, warehouses were overflowing, there were 17 manufacturers

alone of sperm oil and candles, vast fortunes were made in the slave trade and the distilling of rum, and ship yards were scattered all along the shores of the bay. Wealth was abundant and prosperity every man's portion. Jamestown could not help but share in this general condition and was alert to better her condition, as is shown in the following vote of the town meeting of December 26, 1767.

"It is voted that the Hon. Josiah Arnold Esq. William Hazard Esq. Oliver Hull Esq. Mr. Daniel Weeden, Mr. John Weeden, Capt. John Eldred, Capt John Gardner, & Mr. John Remington or the major part of them, be, & they hereby are apointed a committee to consider of the most Salutary measures to be Recommended to this town, for incouraging Industry, frugality, & the Manufactures of this colony, as well to Discourage the use of British & foreign Manufactures and Superfluities imported from abroad; & that they make Report of their procedings to this meeting which stands adjourned to the third Tuesday of January next."

Here we also have a public expression of dissatisfaction over British authority. Jamestown was surrounded by shipping. High import taxes, particularly on molasses, had made smuggling a common practice. Encounters between trading vessels and British excise vessels were frequent. Respect for British enforcement of law was at a low ebb. Slowly but surely the undercurrents of resistance were converging into a mighty stream.

On February 10, 1774, the records read:

"Considering the Greate importance in Preserving to ourselves & Posterity our Indubitable & Inherent Rights do Vote and it is Voted and Resolved by this Meeting that for preventing any tea subject to a duty sent out by the East India Company being Landed in this town, we do Willingly and heartily Join in the s'd Resolves Containing N.N. nine, and to the utmost of our power will stand by and Support our Brethren in this and the sister Colony's in all such Just and Laudable Measures as may preserve to us our Just Rights and priveledges as Englishmen."

Then on October 16, 1775, it was voted:

"That a Watch be set and kept in this town till further Orders fron the town from Six O'Clock in the evening till Sun rise the Next morning that the watch be set and kept from Eldreds Northward Round the Point & if necessary to keep also a strict On the Western Shore from the Point as far down as Opposite s'd Eldgedges Shore."

Then again, fearing serious disaster, it was voted on October 21, 1775, "that the Records of this town be kept in North Kingstown where they now are or in some Other Secure place as the Town Clerk or Council Clerk Shall Think Proper, untill further Order from the town."

Narragansett Bay, with its large amount of shipping, had always been a focal point for the British Revenue ships. In 1769 the armed sloop Liberty was sent to Newport from Boston, to enforce the revenue laws. She seized a Connecticut brig and a sloop and brought them into Newport. The indignant citizens managed, by a subterfuge, to get all the Liberty's men ashore and then someone went out and cut her cable. She drifted ashore and was later struck by lightning and consumed by fire. In 1772 the Gaspee was destroyed. These revenue vessels were a familiar sight from Jamestown and were the reason for establishing the night patrol. The men of the patrol did not always use discretion and occasionally took pot shots at these vessels. So, also, did Capt. John Eldred. The story is told by Field in "Revolutionery Defences of Rhode Island."

"During the Revolution, there lived, on the Eldred Farm, on the east side of Conanicut, Captain John Eldred, a patriot of the purest type. On his land there were two great rocks overlooking the water from a commanding position. Here Captain Eldred planted one of the guns taken from the fort on the island (the battery where Fort Dumpling later stood). From time to time, the patriotic old farmer would amuse himself by firing a shot at the British vessels as they passed up and down the East Passage. One day, he was fortunate enough to put a shot through the mainsail of one of the enemy's ships. This little pleasantry on the part of Farmer Eldred was not relished by the Britisher. A boat was lowered and a force sent ashore to dislodge the company, which, it was supposed, occupied the station, and spike the gun. Upon seeing the boat lowered, Mr. Eldred quickly hid himself in the swamp at the far end of his farm, and when the boat's party arrived on the spot, nothing was found but the gun mounted between the rocks. This they spiked, and the company they expected to capture had vanished as completely as though swallowed up by the earth. This was Eldred's one gun battery."

(The Jamestown Chapter of the D. A. R. is named the "John Eldred Chapter," and a few years ago placed a tablet on one of the rocks.)

Whether it was because of this or out of pure wantonness, on December 11, 1775, the British landed 200 men on the island and proceeded to destroy the village. The account is given in the diary of Ezra Stiles, a minister of Newport.

"Dec. 10, 1775. This morning we were awakened with the conflagration of Jamestown on Conanicut. An awful sight! . The bomb brigg and several Tenders full of marines went over last night, and about v o'clock or a little before day landed and set fire to the Houses. The men continued ravaging and burning 'till about Noon and returned.

"Dec. 11, 1775. About 1 o'clock yesterday morning a Bomb Brig, 1 schooner, & 2 or 3 armed sloops went to Conanicott & landed upward of Two hundred Marines Sailors &Negroes at the E. Ferry and marched in three divisions over to the W. Ferry, & set the several houses on fire there, then retreated back sett fire to almost every house on each side of the road, & several Houses and Barns some distance on the N. & S. side of the Rode, driving out Women & Children etc.

Houses Burnt & Lost

| | |
|---|---|
| Widow Hull | 1 house |
| Jos. Clarke, Esq. | 2 houses & 1 Barn |
| Thos. Fowler | 1 house& 1 Crib |
| Ben. Ellery | 2houses & 1 Store |
| Benj. Remington | 2 houses |
| Jno. Gardiner | 2 houses & 1 Tanyard |
| Gov. Hutchinson | 1house |
| Wm. Franklin | 2 houses |
| Abel Franklin | 1house |
| Bend. Robinson | 1 house |

15Dwellings

A Company of Minute Men had left Conanicut the Aft. before so that there were but 40 or 50 soldiers on the Island, of which 22 were well equipped. At the Cross Rodes there was a Skirmish our pple killed one Officer of Marines and wounded 7 or 8. Not one Colonist was killed or hurt in the Skirmish. The Kings forces fired on Mr. Jno. Martin aet 80 standing at his Door and wounded him Badly. Mr. Fowler had about 30 Head Cattle: these the Regulars carried off and perhaps a dozen Head more, about 30 Sheep & as many Turkeys, & some Hogs, Beds, Furniture

and other plunder. They returned on board at X or XI o'clock & came to this Harbor about Noon.

The Alarm spread,& I an told there are this day Three hundred Men on Conanicutt & Eight hundred upon the Island. The Town in great Consternation.

An account also appeared in the *Providence Gazette*, December 16, 1775, under the heading "The Burning of Jamestown," as follows:

"Sunday morning last, the bomb brig, a schooner, and two or three armed sloops left the harbor of Newport and landed about two hundred marines, sailors and Negroes on the Ferry on the east side of Conanicut, from whence they immediately marched across in three divisions to the West Ferry, and after burning all the houses near the Ferry-Place, returned towards their vessels, setting fire to almost every house on each side of the road, from the West to the East Ferry, and several houses and barns some distance on the North and South side of the road, driving out the women and children, swearing they should be burnt in the houses, if they did not instantly turn out. Captain Wallace commanded. Mr. John Martin, standing unarmed in his own door, was shot. Fifty cows and six oxen, a few sheep and hogs were taken. All were plundered of beds, wearing apparel and household furniture. They left Conanicut the same morning and got back to Newport at Noon."

Every house in the village was destroyed. They confined themselves to the village, however, so the farm houses at the north were saved. General Washington, in a letter written at Cambridge, speaks of "the barbarity of Capt. Wallace on Conanicut Island."

In the spring of 1776 Capt. Wallace and his fleet withdrew from the bay. But for only a short period was this territory to be unmolested. On December 7, 1776, Job Watson, from his watch tower on Tower Hill, saw a large squadron of war vessels coming toward the entrance of Narragansett Bay. They sailed up the west passage, around the north end of the island and anchored along the shores of the Island of Rhode Island, from Portsmouth to Newport Harbor. Eight to ten thousand British and Hessian troops landed and took possession of Newport, and, once again, this little colony on Jamestown was in a desperate

plight. Out of a population of over 600 in 1774, but a little over three hundred remained.

But now there was a demand for men for the army. On September 24, 1776, two men were sent from the island. On November 21, 1776, the General Assembly made a levy of 6 men out of every 100 male inhabitants. The following entry in the town records, December 3, 1776, gives a vivid picture of their condition:

"This Meeting being Conven'd in Obedience to an Act of the General Assembly held at East Greenwich 21 of Nov. 1776, for Raising Six men out of every Hundred of the Male Inhabitants as last Estimated in this town to be sent to the Island of Rhode Island in ten days after the Rising of s'd Assembly to assist in Defending the s'd Island against the Ministerial fleets and armies now at war against the free and Independent States of America. This town Meeting as freemen being Met & Considering their Depopulated Distressed and Defenceless condition toward the Raising Equiping and sending forward s'd men agreeable to said act do at this time Most sensebly regret and find that 'tis out of the power of the town to Raise the Men Required by s'd Act but at the same time are Willing & Desirous to be aiding & assisting in the Defence of Rhode Island, for that Purpose will endeavour to Inlist the six men Required of this town by s'd act equip & send then forward for the Common Defence Speedily as may be agreeable to said act. but if the town in their Now most Calammitous & Distressed Situation find it out of their power to raise s'd men they humbly hope the fine for not Raising Equiping & sending them forward agreeable to s'd act may not be Exacted on the Inhabitants of the town."

As soon as the British started to plan their intrenchments in and around Newport, it was seen it would be necessary to occupy Conanicut so that adequate protection might be obtained on the west. The American forces could assemble in Narragansett on the main land and cross over to Conanicut unmolested. From there they would command the east as well as the west passage to Narragansett Bay and it would be but a short distance to Newport. To prevent this possibility the 54th British Regiment was detailed to occupy the redoubt on the west side of the island (Fox Hill) about two miles north of the light-house (Beaver Tail), which they noted upon entering the bay, had been abandoned by the Americans. War vessels were anchored along the west

coast of the island and also between Conanicut and Prudence Island.

As a further protection a redoubt was erected north east of the narrow beach between Mackerel Cove and Sheffield's Pond. At this redoubt barracks to accommodate 50 men and officers were built. Still another redoubt or fort was erected later at the Dumplings which commanded the east passage. These fortifications were fully equipped with cannon, and a detachment of troops, frequently Hessians, were stationed there. At one time two battalions were stationed on the south end of the island at Beaver Tail, but no evidence has been found that any fortifications were ever erected there.

On December 9, 1777, a detachment of 50 men was stationed on the island to cut wood for the troops in Newport. A transport was anchored near the ferry. Here the troops slept and when landing in the morning they were ordered to take their arms with them. This work continued until every tree available for fire wood had been cut down.

In July, 1778, word was received that the French fleet had set out for Newport to join the American forces in an attack on the British Army entrenched at Newport. All the fortifications on Conanicut were strengthened and more men stationed there. On July 29th, the French fleet appeared off the entrance to the bay. Had they immediately landed forces on Conanicut they could have captured the entire British force stationed there, but instead, they remained at anchor off Beaver Tail for several days. In the meantime the British withdrew their troops and the evacuation was so precipitate that they spiked the cannon at Fox Hill and those at the Dumplings, two 24 pounders, were thrown down the rocks into the sea.

The delay of the French was fatal. While they were still anchored off shore word was received that a British fleet had sailed from New York. They soon appeared and the French fleet immediately set all sail after them. Both fleets quickly passed out of sight beyond the horizon. A severe storm arose and the vessels became separated, all

being badly damaged by the wind and waves. No decisive encounter occurred, and after several days a badly crippled French fleet appeared in the harbor, but they soon set sail for Boston to repair the damage done by the storm. In the meantime the attack on Newport from the north by the Americans failed and the British again were in unchallenged possession of the town. Troops were again stationed at the fortifications on Conanicut.

To give a comprehensive account of the part Jamestown took in this period it would be necessary to follow the movements of the American British and French forces. This space forbids, but the foregoing gives an idea of the strategic position of the island.

After having occupied the island for four years the British departed in 1779. The following winter was the most severe ever experienced. So impoverished were the inhabitants, they were compelled to call for outside assistance.

In July of the following year the French fleet, under Admiral de Ternay came to Newport. The poverty-stricken people did their best to make their stay pleasant, but even with them there was source of complaint, as is shown in the following entry in the town records for August 19, 1780:

"It is Voted that Messrs. Benjamin Underwood, John Gardner, John Weeden, Benjamin Remington, George Tew, & John Howland be a committee and Prepare an Address to their Excellencies the Count de Rochambeau and the Chavilier de Terney commander of his most Christian majesties fleet in the harbour of Newport. Praying that the people under his command might not be Permitted to come on shore without some Good and Known officer over them in order to Restrain them from Committing Damage or offering any injury or insult to the Good and Peaceable People of this town."

And on June 29, 1781, it was necessary to make another complaint as follows:

Jamestown at a town Meeting called and held in the said town.
June 29, A. D. 1781

"Whereas it is represented to this meeting that the Sailors belonging to his most Christian Majesties fleet in the harbor of Newport, and those in

the hospitals in this town, frequently pass through the Meadows and fields of Grain in the daytime, & in the Night Season are Patroling the town throwing their fences & Walls down by which some of the Inhabitants has received Greate Damage & more is likely to insue if not speedily prevented.

It is Therefore Voted that Benjamin Underwood & John Weeden be appointed to prepare a Remonstrance petition or address to the Admiral & General of the french Troop in the Land and Sea Service in behalf of the town Praying that their Troops may be Restrained and Prevented from passing through the lands and fields of Grain, throwing their Walls and fences down or Doing Damage to the Good and Wholesome People of the town: and that Aaron Sheffield be desired to Present the address to the Admiral and General of the French Army and Navy."

After seven years of conflict the war was drawing to a close. The French forces were to leave Newport and co-operate with Lafayette in the south. General Washington desired to confer with the French Admiral and also to witness the departure. He left his camp near New York City, came up the old Indian trail through Connecticut to South Ferry where he took the old sailboat ferry to Jamestown, landing on the west shore of the island at about the same place as the ferry now lands, in the early afternoon of March sixth. Crossing the island he was met by the French officers at the East Ferry, where the admiral's barge was awaiting to convey him to the French war vessel "Duc de Bourgoyne," where he was received by Count Rochambeau.

In commemoration of this visit of our greatest citizen, the local chapter of the D. A. R., during the Washington Celebration last summer, placed a marker on the road, which will be a reminder to all those now driving from ferry to ferry that they are traveling the same road that General Washington took when he crossed the island.

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and the war was over. During these years of conflict there was a common purpose which bound the people together, and there were few indeed who, either directly or indirectly, had not taken a part in this struggle. But now each person, each family, each community began to think of their own condition. The spirit of nationalism disap-

peared with the British armies. The immediate struggle for a livelihood was the great concern of all. There were the few years of prosperous activity which always follow a great war, but these were followed by a great financial panic. Taxes were exorbitant and general conditions so bad that thousands of farmers deserted their farms to start over again in a new locality. The great movement to "go west" had started.

But no matter what the conditions were throughout the country, Jamestown could have been no worse off than it was, for Jamestown was not only ruined, it was practically depopulated. Those who remained were farmers and their only hope for a living was to get it out of the ground. This they resolutely set out to do. Sheep provided meat and wool, spinning wheels were always humming making yarn, the hand looms wove blankets and the cloth which was cut up and made into clothes. They also grew flax and wove their own linens. Pigs provided hams, which were smoked with corn-cobs and cured by hand, sausage, lard and mince pies; apples were cut up and dried and also made into cider; geese provided meat and feathers for feather beds. The milk house of an average farm in early winter would reveal a side or two of beef and mutton, many bags of sausage, tubs of butter and lard, bags of dried apples and a hundred or more mince pies which, with the potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbages and the barrel of cider in the cellar, had to carry them through the winter. All the cooking was done in an open fireplace or the brick oven, and sweeping was done with turkey wings. The men spent their days cultivating the fields, raising and harvesting the crops, tending the cattle and chopping wood. The women prepared the meals, tended the house, wove cloth, knitted stockings, made clothes and found time to make samplers and do embroidery. The evenings were illuminated by candles dipped or moulded of mutton fat.

The farm seemed to provide everything except boots and shoes. The itinerant shoe maker made his yearly visits and

stayed at the house while making the shoes. The following bill covering one such visit is worthy of preservation:

| | |
|---|---|
| To making your boots | $2.00 |
| To soling Mary | .34 |
| To making your youngest | .29 |
| To mending black girl | .16 |
| To mending your son | .21 |
| To mending your wife | .06 |

Such was the life on the average Jamestown farm for four generations after the Revolutionary War. The only market for farm produce was Newport, so as Newport prospered, Jamestown had a little more real money with which to buy things.

The next activity came with the Civil War. At this time the 3rd Rhode Island Cavalry was encamped on the island and barracks were built. After the war these were sold, and A. Crawford Greene, of Providence, purchased one which he used for a summer residence. In this humble way did Jamestown start as a summer resort. Gradually others came. Among the first from afar were several Quaker families from Philadelphia. Today, aside from a few farms at the north and south ends of the island, Jamestown is a summer resort. There are several hotels which provide for those who prefer hotel life; cottages, large or small, can be rented for the season; and there are many beautiful residences which have been built by those who are permanent summer residents.

In the main the history of Jamestown follows the history of New England, but it is the little things in life that make for individuality, and so we find the intimate history of Jamestown possessing an allurement all of its own.

(In printing this article, I wish to express my indebtedness to Miss Lena Clarke, of Jamestown, for her untiring efforts in searching and copying the original records.)

THE KING TOM HOUSE

*Courtesy of Mr. J. H. Richardson*

When the Society of the Colonial Dames published *Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island*, no photograph of the King Tom house was located. Since then Mr. Richardson has kindly contributed the photograph which is printed above.

# Genealogical Notes

*By* Edward H. West

(*Continued from page* 61)

## WILLIAM POTTER

Since my discovery of Ann (Talman) Brayton's marriage to William Potter, I have been searching out facts about William Potter and find that the Durfee book and Austin are both wrong, as there was but one William Potter.

Austin gives two William Potters, one the husband of —— Talman, the other the husband of Ann Durfee. He *presumes* that Ann Potter was the daughter of Thomas Durfee, as he left her a legacy.

In the will of Thomas Durfee, he calls his children either son or daughter, but does not call Ann Potter daughter. One must not forget that Thomas Durfee and Ann Talman, the mother of Ann Durfee, were at least very great friends, so he probably remembered Ann Potter as a favorite of his.

Austin also says that William and Ann (Durfee) Potter sold land in 1697 to William Burrington and in 1720 he deeded to William Potter, Jr., all his land in Portsmouth.

Let us see what the Land Evidence Book really says.

The first deed will not tell us anything as it was some land that was granted to William Potter in 1694. In March 1703-4 William and Ann Potter mortgaged to Isaac Lawton the land that had belonged to Stephen Brayton, dec., the first husband of Ann Talman. In 1713-4 William and Ann Potter quitclaimed to their son and son-in-law, Stephen Brayton, the above mentioned land.

In 1707, Preserved Brayton sold to William Potter the land that had been granted to Ann Potter, his mother, for him, then a minor, in 1694. This was the 12 acres that William Potter sold to William Potter, Jr., in 1720.

In 1721, William Potter, mariner, and wife, Prudence Potter, mortgaged this same 12 acres to the Colony. In 1727, William Potter, mariner, and wife, Prudence, sold this same land to William Earl.

In the original vital records, not the printed ones, is written: "Nathaniel Potter (the son of William Potter and Ann his wife) was married to Ruth Manchester (the daughter of Stephen Manchester and Elizabeth his wife) by William Coggeshall Ass't. 1712."

"The births of the children of the above said Nathaniel Potter and Ruth his wife:—Elizabeth Potter born 2 May 1713; Ruth Potter born 14 October 1715."

"William Potter (son of the above said William Potter and Ann his wife) was born 11 March 1696."

The Durfee Book mentions the wills of John Fish and his wife Joanna, recorded in 1742 and 1744, in which mention is made of their daughter, Mary, the wife of William Potter. These wills are not recorded in Portsmouth.

The marriage of William Potter and Prudence —— is not recorded either. As he was a mariner, he may have married her in some port at which he touched and brought her to Portsmouth.

Who the Prudence Potter was that married John Williams of Stonington, Conn., (Original Record) I have not yet been able to discover.

An Unrecorded Marriage.

"William Hall & Benjamin Hall of Portsmouth - - - - - Testifyeth - - - - that at or about the 20th Day of August 1748, they - - - - were Present at the house of the sd William Hall at Portsmouth, when Benjamin Turner, then a Resident of Newport and a native of Great Britain, was married - - - - unto Rebecca Tallman of Tiverton by Benjamin Tucker Esq. then an Assistant - - - - -.

The above Deposition was Sworn too before me this 5 Day of August 1783." John Thurston, J.P.

(Town Council Records, VII - 55.)

# The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

*Transcribed by* THEODORE G. FOSTER

(*Continued from page 36*)

At a Meeting of the Committee and Proprietors at Warwick July 14th 1715 Whereas Thomas Field was admitted a Share in Westquanaug at a Proprietors Meeting at Kingston the 20th of February 1706 7 but he not then accepting the said Admittance and not paying his proportion of the Charge that hath accrued We declare the said Grant to be void . . . Notwithstanding for some particular Service he hath done the Proprietors We do now grant him half a Lot joining upon N° 4 he paying his proportionable part of the Charge that hath accrued . . . It is agreed forthwith to draw Lots for the First Division from N° 1. to 29 according to the Plat laid before us by Josiah Westcoat Surveyor and the Lot that any Person shall draw the Division on the Plat being of the same Number with his said Lot shall be his Right and Property to improve as his Real Estate to him and his Heirs forever ———————

And it is further Ordered that Such Person as shall draw any of the Numbers 1 to 8 shall have their first choice of the next Division of Lands in Westquanaug the Lot N° 12 to be included: Zachariah Rhodes Lot N° 29 is allowed him as his Fathers share without drawing his Lot all the Rest of the Lands not now called for shall be further Divided among the Proprietors . . . . ordered by their Trustees———————

At a Meeting of the Committee & Proprietors of Westquanaug at Warwick at the House of Mary Carder July the 14th 1715

Ordered that the Proprietors come to a New Choice of a Committee and Clerk and Treasurer who are Chosen as followeth

Viz

COL SAMUEL CRANSTON
Major James Brown
Capt Benjamin Ellery
Job Greene
Mayor Joseph Whipple
Mr Richard Waterman
Major Thomas Fenner
} Committee

Job Greene Clerk and engaged
Major Thomas Fenner Treasurer

Voted that the committee shall have full Power to make choice of a Surveyor to lay out the Remaining part of the Purchase of Westquanauge and to proceed in that Affair as soon as may be with convenience and to act and do any other Business that they shall think needful for the Proprietors Interest in the said Purchase

Voted That each whole Share Man shall pay unto Major Thomas Fenner Treasurer Twenty Shillings apiece forthwith towards paying the Charge of Surveying and other incident Charges that may arise about the Premises and each Man claiming a Smaller Share shall pay a proportionable Part accordingly

Whereas Thomas Weaver of Newport has sold half a Share of Westquanaug without acquainting the Proprietors or Trustees thereof and neglecting to pay his Proportion of the incidental Charges he is directed to pay his Proportion into the Hands of some one of the Trustees before the next Meeting and then make his Acknowledgment and show good Reason for his Breach of Covenant or else his Half Share so Sold is to be forfeited to the Proprietors.

Signed per order Job Greene Clerk[161]

---

At a Meeting of the committee of Westquanauge at the House of Mrs. Mary Carder in Warwick October 29th 1717——

Ordered That Mr Resolved Waterman is chosen a committee Man in the Room and Place of Mr Joseph

Whipple he having sold all his Interest in said Purchase and Waterman having bought a Share in said Purchase——

Providence May 28. 1718 Ordered that Capt Richard Waterman shall be Treasurer in the Room of Major Thomas Fenner Deceased and that he demand and receive the Treasurer Money into his Hand of the Executor for the Use of the Proprietors——

Ordered That Capt Thomas Harris shall be a committee Man in the Place and Room of Major Fenner Deceased he having purchased Land in said Purchase——

At a Meeting of the Committee of Westquanaug at Providence May the 28th 1718.

Having received a Return of the Running and Revising of the Lines between Between Providence and Westquanaug and the Colony Line and Warwick Line by the Persons appointed for that Purpose they having made many Remarks in said Lines [*illegible*] in order for a further Division whereupon it is jointly agreed on by the committee of the Main Land that there be a Second Division of one Hundred and Fifty Acres at the least to [*illegible*] whole share Man and Addition where the Land is mean to make them equal with the best Land——The Second Division to be laid out to the Eastward of the colony Line and it is ordered that Major Job Greene Capt Thomas Harris and Ensign Resolved Waterman shall be overseers to see the Work done and to agree with Josiah Westcoat Surveyor to be the principal Surveyor in the Work and to make a Map of it. Also the Trustees are to him sufficient Help to compleat the Work and the whole Charge to be paid by the Proprietors at the Drawing the Lots—And it is further ordered that the Trustees may lay out a Third Division to the Westward of the Colony Line if they see cause so to do adjoining to said Line

Job Greene
Thomas Harris
Richard Waterman
Resolved Waterman } Committee

Joshua Winsor is chosen a committee Man in the Room and Stead of Resolved Waterman Deceased

pr Job Greene Clerk[16a]

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Westquanaug at the House of M^rs^ Mary Carder in Warwick November the fourth 1718 . .

There being a Map presented by the Committee of said Westquanaug of a Second Division within the Colony Lines and one Division to the Westward of said Colony Line to each Proprietor:—Ordered to draw Lots of said Second Division according to former Order and also Unanimously agreed on to draw Lot for to the westward of the Colony Line also both said Divisions were drawn accordingly But there arising some Dispute between Nicholas Carr and the Rest of the Grand Children of Gov^r^ Caleb Carr of Newport Deceased about Carr's Right said Grand Children claiming equal Right with said Nicholas Carr: The Proprietors taking the Matter into Consideration have ordered that Carr's Alotments shall be placed to the original Right of said Gov^r^ Carr deceased——

And it is also ordered that Fones's Lotments be placed in the original Right of capt John Fones Deceased by the free Consent of his Son John Fones—there having been some dispute before the Proprietors about the same by Fones's Son and Grand Children——[16b]

Ordered Whereas there was a Mistake in Greene's Right in the Second Division That Lotment having no orderly Draft with the Rest notwithstanding N^o.^ 47 was left undrawn for by Reason of the Said Mistake Therefore It is Ordered that Major Job Green may take up the same Number of Acres that is in N^o.^ 47 in any part of the undivided Land by Consent of the Committee off the Main Land for himself and Brothers and Richards Daughters if

he do not like Number 47 and Number 47 to be laid down to the Proprietors again

p Job Greene Clerk

Advertisement

These are to give Notice to all the Proprietors of the Land known by the Name of Westquanaug within the Jurisdiction of Scituate[17] in the County of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island &c to meet together on the First Tuesday of July next which will be the second Day of said Month at the House of Mr[s] Mary Carder in Warwick in said County in order to hear the Proceedings of the Committee in Laying out said Land and to receive from the Surveyor the PLAT of the Several Divisions of said Land and to pay the Several incidental Charges which have accrued from the Last Meeting of said Proprietors and to act and Do any other Business that the said Proprietors shall think needful about the Premises

Warwick June the 7[th] 1734 By order of the Committee per Mr Job Greene Clerk of said Proprietors

[16]Joseph Fry of Newport sold to Stephen Easton of Newport the half part of a share or sixtieth part of the Westquanoag Purchase, May 31, 1716. (R. I. Land Ev. III, 243.)

[16a]On June 9, 1718, John Rhodes of Warwick sold to John Turrer a half share of the "Westquodnaig" purchase which was half of a partnership "with my uncle Peleg Rhodes." (Prov. Deeds, IV, 72.)

[16b]Capt. John Fones in his will Feb. 14, 1703, left one half of his Westconnaug purchase to his son John, and divided the other half between his son Samuel and his grandson Fones Greene. (N. Ki. Wills.)

[17]On Feb. 20, 1730-1 the Town of Scituate was incorporated. All of the Westconnaug Purchase that was within Rhode Island was included in Scituate.

## Heraldic Notes

MALBONE

*Antiques* for February 1933, contains an illustration of a silver mug engraved with a coat-of-arms and the words *Godfrey Malbone, 1742*. This mug is now owned by the

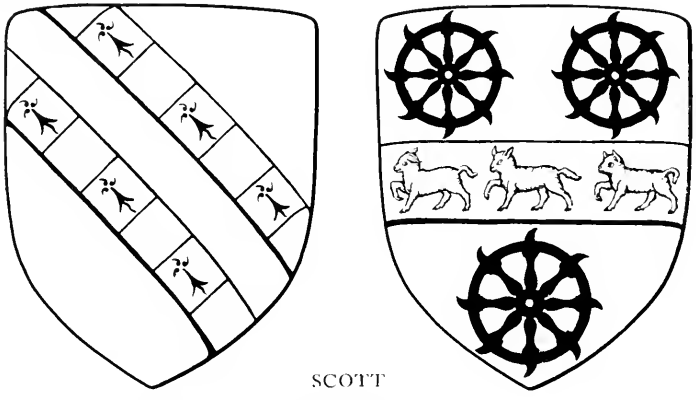
Reverend Malbone H. Birckhead of Wynnewood, Penna. The arms are an impaled coat, *or two bendlets compony gules and ermine* for Malbone impaling *argent on a fess between three catherine wheels as many lambs passant*, for Scott. The color of the wheels and lambs is not discernible in the illustration.

Silver mug which belonged to Godfrey Malbone of Newport. It is owned by the Rev. Malbone H. Birckhead.

*Courtesy of "Antiques"*

E. Alfred Jones in *Antiques* describes the Malbone arms as *Or two bendlets gobony ermine and gules* and adds that "The arms of Malbone were granted in 1683 to George Malbon of Bradley in the county of Chester." Burke does not give this coat but gives *Or two bends gobonated argent and gules*. Ormerod in his History of Chester, III, 318, states that the ancient arms of the Malbons of Bradeley Hall, *Or two bendlets componé argent and gules* "were dis-

allowed by Dugdale in the visitation of 1663-4." The change from argent to ermine may have been for difference or more probably someone mistook diapering for ermine and so accidently made a differenced coat. The impaled arms are those of Scott and as Godfrey Malbone married Catherine Scott in 1719, the arms clearly represent this marriage and are the arms of Malbone impaling Scott, which would of course be the arms of Godfrey Malbone, Senior.



SCOTT

The arms of Scott, as engraved on the silver mug, are the same as those of Thomas Scott of Great Barr, in Staffordshire, as illustrated on page 299 of the 1724 edition[1] of Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*. In the text these arms are given as *Argent on a fess gules, cottised azure, three lambs of the first, between as many katherine-wheels sable*, but in the illustration the cottises are omitted. Dr. Bowditch suggests that the engraver may have merely turned to Guillim for a Scott coat, found that of Scott of Great Barr, Staffordshire, and then, overlooking the cottises in the description, copied Guillim's wood-cut. He may have shaded the fess for artistic effect.

The Catharine Scott who was married to Godfrey Malbone in 1719, was the daughter of John Scott and Elizabeth Wanton,[2] and so granddaughter[3] of John Scott and great-granddaughter of Richard Scott of Providence.

[1] Also in edition of 1679. [2] *R. I. Hist. Tracts 3*, pages 14 and 17.
[3] *Austin Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, pages 215, 372 and 373.

## Form of Legacy

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*
*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

PROVIDENCE

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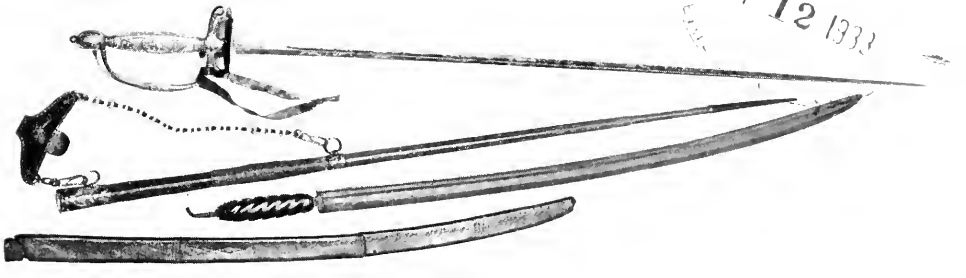

COLONEL WILLIAM BARTON'S SWORDS

The upper one is the dress sword presented by Congress to Colonel Barton, and the lower one is Colonel Barton's service sword.

*These swords were recently presented to the Society by James A. Barton and George C. Barton, great-great-grandsons of Colonel Barton.*

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVI OCTOBER, 1933 No. 4

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
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# Roger Williams, Apostle of Complete Religious Liberty

*By* MICHAEL FREUND

Translated by James Ernst
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## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In *Der Idee Der Toleranz Im England Der Grossen Revolution*, published in 1927, Michael Freund presents a painstaking study of the historical development of the idea of toleration in England, and especially its many-sided expressions during the Civil War from 1642 to 1648. The study was prepared under the direction of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich, after a year of research in the British Museum, London, and deserves, therefore, more than a passing notice from those interested

in Roger Williams and his ideas. Freund gives Williams a place of importance second to none of the twenty-four Englishmen, from Sir Thomas More to Sir Henry Vane, whose writings are analyzed and whose philosophy of toleration is critically examined. Only the poet John Milton is given a greater number of pages in a discussion of his ideas of toleration, than are given to Williams; while such famous political thinkers as John Goodwin, Dr. Owen, James Harrington and Sir Henry Vane are accorded fewer pages each than are devoted to him.

This original and highly provocative analysis of the ideas of Williams on toleration and religious liberty must, however, be read with caution, for Freund was misled when he trusted so implicitly the biographies of Williams then available. I shall suggest only a few of the corrections necessary. (1) Williams is wrongly grouped with the Anabaptist thinkers. His contemporaries in England and New England recognized him as an Independent, and Freund should have grouped Williams with Dr. Owen, John Goodwin and the poet Milton. (2) His religious views were not of "baptisticher natur" at any time. Williams had become a Seeker in August, 1635. It was customary in the 17th century to call all who dissented from the established religions, "Anabaptists", in the same way as today in America all social radicals and political dissenters are called "Reds" and "Communists." (3) He agreed that the "reason of the law" is more important than the "will of the law." (4) He rejected the contemporary view of toleration and demanded "absolute soul-liberty" in religious matters. (5) Within fixed constitutional limits, Williams held that the power of the state, as representative of the majority of the people, ought to be absolute in civil things. Legal and just punishment of offenders against the civil laws he designated as "prosecution" as distinct from "persecution." (6) He held the state ought to give permission and protection to the "bodies and goods" of the churches and church-members, whether true or false, in

their civil relations, and that the churches ought to obey the civil laws and pray for the safety and welfare of the state, though pagan. (7) He was a Biblicist and not a Calvinist, after 1630. And although he took some of his ideas from John Calvin and Martin Luther, he never hesitated to disagree with each of them in certain matters. For example, he held to Luther's doctrines of Free-Grace and of conditional Election because he believed they were Pauline and Biblical. (8) Freund does not attempt to develop fully Williams' doctrines of government by the "free consent of the People" and the Rights of Man. These he discusses only as they relate to the idea of absolute toleration. (9) Nor does Freund bring out the close relation of Seekerism and the scientific movement of the 17th century with Williams' doctrine of religious liberty.

With these preliminary remarks as a guide, we are ready to begin the essay by Michael Freund: (*Der Idee Der Toleranz*. Halle, 1927. Pp. 241-268.)

## Translation

The ripest fruit of the Baptist literature of Toleration is the work on Tolerance by Roger Williams. The toleration-idea of Williams found its most significant expression in his work entitled *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, but received, to be sure, further elucidation and exposition in his other writings. (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, (1664). Edited by R. A. Guild, N. C. P., Vol. II. *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, (1652). Edited by S. L. Caldwell, N. C. P., Vol. IV. A well-rounded portrait of his mind and character is given in the collected letters which J. R. Bartlett arranged and entitled *The Letters of Roger Williams*, N. C. P., Vol. VI.) Williams suffered persecution upon his own person. In 1631 he had come to New England, and soon thereafter was called to be the Teacher at Salem. His opinions brought him into sharp opposition to the church and state in New England, and

finally caused his banishment out of the colonies. (The exact causes of his banishment are in controversy: his opinions about tolerance — as the customary view maintains—indeed scarcely stand in the foreground. His doubt of the legality of the Patent of the colony, which according to his conception gave over illegally to foreign ownership the land of the Indian and his demand for a radical separation from the Anglican church stirred up a more vehement opposition than his conception of the relation of the state and church. The entire question is fully discussed by J. L. Diman in his introduction to *John Cotton's Answer to Roger Williams*, N. C. P., Vol. II. This discussion centers chiefly on the question of "rigid separation" and contributes also to clarify their controversy.) In the midst of a winter snowstorm—as he himself has often pathetically described —he was forced to seek for himself a new homestead. In 1636 he founded Providence, a new colony, upon his own land which he purchased from the Indian tribe. The members of the new colony promised to submit themselves to the majority in all matters: but only in civil things. Vane helped him to procure the charter for the colony. In 1643, because of disputes among the [New England] colonies, Williams went to London in order to obtain the authority for the settling of some of these disputes. The religious-political war then going on in England stimulated him into carrying forward a definitive discussion of his controversy with Cotton, his Puritan antagonist in New England. In this way originated, in 1644, *The Bloudy Tenent*, to which later on there was connected a lively controversy. The deliberations of the Westminster Assembly, (Translator's Note: The Westminster Assembly, composed of 120 Puritan and Scotch Presbyterian clergymen, was created in the summer of 1643 to assist Parliament in preparing a uniform system of church Order and polity. It was continuously in session without accomplishing any important matter until dismissed by Cromwell through Parliament in 1649) and in connection with it the joint publication of a pamphlet

by the Independent members, (Transl. Note: *Apologeticall Narration,* (1644) by The Five Dissenting Brethren. British Museum) called forth his *Queries of Highest Consideration.* His religious views were of "baptisticher Natur", but he finally separated himself from every religious association and passed his last days as a solitary "Seeker". America honors in him one of her greatest minds.

As previously stated, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution* is a discussion with Cotton, who defended a relative-toleration position and whose opinions were in need of a clearer representation, wherewith Williams sets forth the historical significance of the idea in its true light. (Of course, Williams presents to Cotton also his opinions concerning "The Model of Church and Civil Power" of the New England churches, of which Cotton later on denies his co-authorship.) Cotton, as we shall see, also divided the spheres of state and church rather strictly: both have their own End, their own duties, and their own functions. Over the church stands God as the only Law-giver. The members of the church, as such, have no right to challenge the state-authority by offering any resistance against it. Insofar as opposition to the civil power is permitted, it is exercised by the church-members as members of the state and not as members of the church. Man does not live in society and the state as a religious being. Although both authorities are clearly separated from one another, they are not independent of one another: they are inseparably intangled one with the other; they grow and blossom together, and perish together. The decline of the state, says Cotton, has always been a sequel to the decay of the church. (*Bloudy Tenent of Persecution,* p. 191. Freund uses the edition of the Hanserd Knollys Society edited by Edward Bean Underhill. London, 1848.) The church educates the people to become good subjects and perfect members of society. State and church are mutually bound to govern and support each other. When the church disintegrates the state must re-

form it; and when the state strays from the path of justice, the church must lead it back onto the right course: therefore, one state, one church. Just as tolerant as the church ought to be to those within her own bosom, so little is an organized community able to tolerate different churches and sects side by side. "For our tolerating many religions in a state in several churches, besides the provoking of God, may in time not only corrupt, leaven, divide, and so destroy the peace of the churches, but also dissolve the continuity of the state, especially ours, whose walls are made of the stones of the churches, it being also contrary to the end of our planting in this part of the world, which was not only to enjoy the pure ordinances, but to enjoy them all in purity." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 240.) The church must, however, practice toleration in things not fundamental. Even in the sphere of the liturgy, she ought and must grant diversity and variety of forms. The principle must be one of unity and not uniformity. In things fundamental, however, which are so public and clear that only base desire opposes them, no tolerance dare be shown. After proper admonition, the church hands the heretic over to the state which may then deliver him to the executioner. Cotton also reiterates here in essentials the toleration-program of the sons of the Renaissance: that ideal of "Comprehension" which influenced Taylor (Transl. Note: Taylor, Jeremy, (1613-1667) *Liberty of Prophesying*, 1649) and Chillingworth (Transl. Note: Chillingworth, William, (1602-1644), *The Religon of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*, 1638) to foster the idea of tolerance, also influenced Williams' *The Bloudy Tenent*.

Sovereignty—which brings the opinions of Cotton in repeated collision with the idea of toleration and especially with the theory of the Rights of Man—is placed by Cotton under absolutely fixed limits and rules. The state has no authority to consider private morals. It has, moreover, no authority to judge in disputes between children and parents, and servants and masters. Matters of private morals

come under the competence of the church which settles disputes between members of the family and between servants and masters: "Domestic evils are best healed in a domestic way." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 284.) Only upon a request from the church may the state interpose its authority in this sphere of social life. More serious, however, is the limitation on the principle of the state's authority. The power of the state originates through the transfer of the rights and power of individuals to the highest civil authority; the people are, moreover, on this earth only the stewards of God and may not transfer this right and authority as they please. "And because the Word is a perfect rule, as well of righteousness as of holiness, it will be therefore necessary that neither the people give consent, nor that the magistrate takes power to dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the people, but according to the laws and rules of the Word of God." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 219.) The civil authority may impose nothing by virtue of its authority alone; it is obliged, "to show the reason, not only the will." (*Ibid.* p. 220.) Nor may the state control and regulate "indifferent" matters, unless it has cogent reasons to give for such action. Not the state but divine truth creates the social right. This divine truth is indeed a "perfect rule," compulsory and unequivocal, and can therefore dispense with the interpreting power. Cotton recognizes the viewpoint of Hobbes. (Transl. Note: Hobbes, Thomas, (1588-1679) see *Works*) as the hostile principle opposed to his world of ideas which he restates in similar words and vigorously attacks: "Autoritas, non veritas facit legem." "He hath no power to make any such laws about indifferent things, wherein nothing good or evil is shown to the people, but only on principally the mere authority or will of the imposer for the observance of them." (*Ibid.* p. 220.) "The will of no man is regula recti, unless it be regula recta." (*Ibid.* p. 220) Not the will of the law-giver but the reason of the law must be the plumbline of the human conscience. Not

the authority of the supreme power, but the "Reason" of the law binds: "Ratio est rex legis et lex rex regis." (*Ibid.* p. 221.) . . .

Williams carries out the division between worldly and religious affairs much more sharply, consistently and radically than does Cotton. The separation is so thoroughly carried out that no bridges may lead across to reunite the two worlds. The two worlds, the spiritual and the civil, can no longer lay claims to each other. With this conception it is not possible to stretch a connecting-line across (from the spiritual world) to the Rights of Man . . . According to the conception of Williams, in contrast to that of Cotton, the two worlds are in themselves sovereign and do not mutually limit each other, since they exist on two such entirely different levels that they are completely separated.

For this reason Williams lays the stress upon it to indicate his intrinsic conclusion—the real self-sufficiency of the civil and social world. State and society are natural powers, forms and creations of nature. (Just for that reason, they are not comprehensible and conceivable through the doctrine of rights, because they in fact discard the spiritual "Existenz" to which rights alone are able to appeal.) In the blood relationship of families exists the prototype of states and, as people increase and propagate themselves independently and beyond religion of all kinds, so they in time also agree to form social combinations. "If none but true Christians, members of Christ Jesus, might be civil magistrates, and publicly entrusted with civil affairs, then none but members of churches, Christians, should be husbands of wives, fathers of children, masters of servants. But against this doctrine the whole creation, the whole world, may justly rise up in arms, as not only contrary to true piety, but common humanity itself." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 285.) "Magistracy is of God, but yet no otherwise than marriage is, being an estate merely civil and humane and lawful to all nations of the world." (*Bloody Tenent Yet*

*More Bloody*, p. 282.) Each state is legitimate just as life and nature are legitimate. Man is by nature a social creature, and enters social relationships long before he awakens to religion. "We shall find lawful civil states, both before and since Christ, in which we find not any tidings of the true God or Christ." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 247.) There is "a civil ministry, or office, merely human and civil, which men agree to constitute, called therefore a human creation, and is true and lawful in those nations, cities, kingdoms, etc., which never heard of the true God, nor his holy Son Jesus, as in any part of the world besides, where the name of Jesus is most taken up." (*Ibid.* p. 132.)

Society and state are integral wherever religious-liberty prevails in the entire state. The civil state is in itself entire and competent, "which compactness may be found in many towns and cities of the world where yet has not shined any spiritual or supernatural goodness." (*Ibid.* p. 211.) All over the world with its thousand-fold religious differences, the object, nature and origin of the civil authority is always the same. The origin is everywhere the choice and free consent of the people, and the object, the well being of the members or the safety of the people in property and life.

The state transcends religion. It receives from religion no enhancement of its authority, no more than is added to our animal life by our Christian confession. There is no longer any Christian state, but only purely a civil state. The state having developed into a pure "Existence form" and into a perfect abstraction has freed itself of all foreign accretions. "The civil nature of the magistrate we have proved to receive no addition of power from the magistrate being a Christian, no more than it receives diminution from his not being a Christian, even as the commonweal is a true commonweal, although it have not heard of Christianity." (*Ibid.* p. 304.)

If the Christian state had the right of persecution, then this right would not be merely peculiar to the Christian state but to the state in the abstract. When the Christian

state also imputes to itself the right of persecution, then it approves this right to all the states of the world. That would have a rather ominous effect upon the Christian religion; for of thirty parts of the world, twenty-five are non-Christian. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 161.) "And if so—that the magistrates receive their power of governing the church from the people—undeniably it follows, that a people, as a people, naturally considered of what nature or nation soever in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, have fundamentally and originally as men, a power to govern the church, to see her do her duty, to correct her, to redress, reform, establish, etc." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 215.)

Interestingly, the idea of the essential equality of all states and the identity of the efficacy of all states re-enforces the democratic woof in the thought of Williams. For Williams, the state is not an independent principle, but a function of society and an organ of the "Nation", insofar as Williams understands it. Before the states there were the "Nations"—"Nations" which as phenomena of the natural world are essentially alike. "If the magistrate has received any such charge or commission from God in spiritual things, doubtless, as before, the people have received it originally and fundamentally as they are a people. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 189.) There is no right and no essence in the state which does not rest in the people. No group of people have, however, more rights than any other, as Williams viewed the people in a nature-rightly, unhistorical being. "Primarily and fundamentally they are the civil magistrate." (*Ibid.* p. 210. The sovereignty of the "Nations" implies, however, the sovereignty of the world. In the state the many govern inseparably; only a few are, however, elected. The state which Williams alone recognizes, the democratic state, can neither be the sovereignty of the Saints nor supply the place of religious authority. The sovereignty of the state over religion must, moreover, always imply anti-religious sovereignty, at least

a-religious force over religious matters, always a foreign-authority over the church of God . . .)

The internal detachment of the state from religion signifies especially for Williams the self-sufficiency of the state, the organization of the phenomenon "state" in its "ideal-typichen" purity. The mingling of state and church implies as well the negation of Christendom, as of the state: "It denies the principle of Christianity and civility." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 2.) The state burdened with religious duties and compassed with religious regulations is not a perfect state: (With this one may compare Karl Marx: "The so-called Christian state is an imperfect state and the Christian religion is permitted by the state as a complement and as a sanctification of its civil imperfection. The state is in this instance "Theologe ex professo", not yet state as a "state." *Zur Judenfrage.*) Persecution, therefore, is an inimical state principle: a "body-killing, soul-killing, state-killing doctrine." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 378.) It unites the legitimate civil relations which have at least according to Williams their origin in natural circumstances, on the condition of fixed religious qualifications, and denies them at the same time as their own rights. (Williams perceived in the principle of persecution not merely the negation of the state, but according to his state-theory a denial of the natural existence of mankind, of "nature," and the "world." Persecution demands of the "world" the religious proof of the "right to life," and denies thereby its right to existence in itself. For Williams, therefore, intolerance is the all-destroying power.) And so the taking-over of the function by the state is "a breach of civility." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 49.) It adds a foreign element to the state, turns it into a "six-fingered monster," (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 454) and cripples it thereby. Intolerance is therefore "opposite to the very essentials and fundamentals of the nature of a civil magistrate." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 35.) By means of it is "civil society plucked up by the roots." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*,

p. 207.) Persecution is "dangerously destructive to the very roots . . . of any civil being of the world itself." (*Ibid.* p. 238.)

Thus the state exists in itself and is set free in every way from all fixed duties concerning religious matters. It exists instead as a civil state, and only as a civil state. Upon it God's people have no claims. "It is plausible, but not reasonable, that God's people should, considering the drift of these positions, expect more liberty under a Christian than under a heathen magistrate." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 340.) The state may deliver none of its essence or its functions over to religion. "Peace" says to "Truth," this pamphlet is in the form of a dialogue between Peace and Truth: "I know you would not take from Caesar ought, although it were to give to God." (*Ibid.*, p. 294.) The state is entirely withdrawn from any religious authority. As a "Stück Natur," according to its inner essence, the state is incapable of responding in general to the claims of religion; for that purpose it is without an "organ." It is a dead thing, soulless, unspiritual: "Spiritual cannot reach to artificial or civil." (*Ibid.* p. 247.) Cotton had made it clear that the walls of the New England states were built out of the stones of the church, to which Williams replied: "The walls of earth or stone about a city, are the natural or artificial wall or defence of it." (*Ibid.* p. 246.) Only the "natural" can protect the "natural." Only the natural can operate upon the state which is without an "organ" for the commands and claims of religious matters. Christ has never made any promises to the state. "It pleased not the Lord Jesus to give by himself or his apostles to the civil magistrates, king or governor, any particular rules or directions concerning their behaviour or carriage in civil magistracy, as they have done expressly concerning the duty of fathers, mothers, children, masters, servants, yea, and of subjects toward magistrates." (*Ibid.* p. 85.) The words to Peter to put his sword into the sheath are directed to the church of Christ and not to the state which for that

reason retains the power over life and death. The sword is also not to be drawn in defence of religion, especially when it is endangered. (*Ibid.* p. 360.)

The need of releasing the states from religious rule is especially manifest in the impetuous slaughtering of the religious wars. Williams speaks sorrowfully "of the nations and peoples slaughtering each other for their several respective religions and consciences." (*Ibid.* p. 37.) The decline of the religious wars is largely owing to the more temperate adherents of the idea of toleration. The "Politisierung of Politik" had indeed already made such advances that it was possible even to subordinate foreign-politics to the End of religious propaganda. Especially is this true of Cromwell's very Protestant-tinged foreign politics which is, to be sure, always only a device to interfere for tolerance and the protection of the menaced Protestant interests, and only set up as his aim in the conquest of Ireland (according to his idealogy) an extension of the Protestant religion by force of arms. Milton had expressly restricted the hindrance of the Catholic faith, which he promoted, to national boundaries. The extension of Catholics, he held, must be obstructed: "I mean in our natives and not foreigners, privileged by the laws of nations." (*Of True Religion, Heresy, and Schism*, p. 142.) Cotton also refuses to permit his relative-tolerance to reach beyond the state: "It becomes not the spirit of the gospel to convert aliens to the faith . . . with fire and brimstone." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 106.)

Williams viewed the religious wars, however, as the inevitable consequence of the "bloodie tenent." Seldom does persecution halt at the national boundaries. And why should it? The duty to root out the heretic extends out beyond national borders. And whoever believes in this duty, "must needs force on and press after an universal conquest of all consciences, and under that (like those bloody Spaniards, Turkes and Popes) lay under their fair cloak, the rule and dominion over all the nations of the earth." (*Bloody*

*Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 337.) Characteristic of Williams is his repeated warning and fear of it that intolerance in this religious conquest may in turn consider itself as a sovereign power of a world kingdom. What slaughter must then follow after this principle of intolerance if all the millions of heretics should be put to death? (*Ibid.* pp. 288, 337. *Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 27.) Williams always kept the world situation of religion constantly in view. Intolerance must involve the Christian state in a mad war against the whole world, and by it constantly threaten mankind by plunging all the nations in a war among one another. Back of intolerance lurks continually a world conflagration. The intolerance of Queen Elizabeth had almost set the whole world in flames. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 350.)

From the basic concept of Williams, moreover, there follows not only peace for the "Christian" states with the heathen world around them, but also the inner justification of the heathen states as the proving ground and as the rulers of the Saints. All spiritual restraints are cleared away from economic and civil-social associations. The children of God may turn to the pagan states to obtain from them justice in social-civil matters. As members of society they may have traffic with pagans, Jews and Turks. Paul—Williams maintains—shows by his appeal to Caesar the legality of having civil intercourse with such persons (idolators), with whom it is not permitted to have any intercourse in spiritual matters: "secretly foretelling that magistrates and people, whole states and kingdoms, should be idolatrous and anti-Christian, yet with whom, notwithstanding, the Saints and churches of God might lawfully cohabit, and hold civil commerce and conversation." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 88.) "And, in that sense, who doubts but God's people may appeal to the Roman Caesar, an Egyptian Pharaoh, a Philistian Abimelech, an Assyrian Nebuchadnezzar, the great Mogul, Prester John, the great Turk, or an Indian Sachem?" (*Ibid.* p. 130.) The expan-

sion of the geographical horizon has perhaps influenced the conception of this idea; the public inclusion of non-Christian powers in the play of politics, and the requirement of a pacific English-colonial penetration made possible later on to draw from it its "Legitimierung." With it colonial politics could throw many an ideological ballast overboard.

As a natural structure, the state stands also beyond good and evil. It can do evil in order to prevent greater evils, "as for instance, in the civil state, usuary, for the preventing of a greater evil in the civil body, as stealing, robbing, murdering, perishing of the poor, and the hindrance, or stop, of commerce and dealings in the Commonwealth." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 139.)

The questions of conscience are generally separated from the social life in a moral sense. The people have indeed no longer any relation in and to the state as religious beings; their action in the civil state is also no longer a question of spiritual judgment of conscience. Therefore the social action may not be involved in the sphere of those actions which flow out of human conscience. As soon as the state appears in religious drapery, then either one must subscribe to the state unfailingly, "or else there are no lawful kingdoms, cities, or towns in the world, in which a man may live, and unto whose civil government he may submit; and then, as I said before, there must be no world, nor is it lawful to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning spirit to judge them that fear or not fear God." (*Ibid.* p. 184.) From it results the penetrating power of the civil order, so that all scruples of conscience are taken over by it from the subjects of the state.

However, Williams also eliminates the question of conscience in another sense: in social life there dare be no possibility of appealing upon restraint of conscience as the basis for disobeying any civil laws; in the state those actions will be punished, which result from the impulse of conscience, if they affect the civil peace and order. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 88.) Williams could say with Selden,

(Transl. Note: Selden, John, (1584-1654) Puritan, member of Parliament, jurist and publicist) man may not be permitted "to pretend conscience against law." Because Society is changed by spiritual crises of liberated relationships an externally regulated "Komplex" — "Soulless," "Conscienceless" — for that reason the development of liberty of conscience into common Rights of Man has hitherto been frustrated. However, the theory of the Rights of Man proceeds on the basis of the acknowledgment of a "social conscience." Of it Williams like Selden feared that the revolt against all social order would borrow thereby a protecting-shield. In opposition to the conscience of the individual, he postulates a higher right, "The Conscience of the State": "The conscience of the magistrate must incite him to civil punishment, as a Lord Mayor of London once answered, that he was born to be a judge when a thief pleaded that he was born to be a thief." (*Ibid.* p. 143.)

The position of Williams on the question of the persecuting state seems at first glance a wavering one. On the one hand, there is held forth the idea of absolute subjection. The persecuting state exists as a civil state in its unshaken right whenever it deals with civil and social matters. Persecution is only to be kept off from interference with the soul (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 304.) (Transl. Note: Williams made this distinction: to punish for religious opinions is *persecution*; but the civil state may punish for civil offences which he calls *prosecution.*) On the other hand, persecution appears as much the dissolving factor of social relations as the enemy of society, so that this right to take steps for its own preservation should not be granted to society. Thus Williams justifies the English Revolution as a rebellion against persecution. Indeed, at the very outset Williams takes up the right of the "civil magistrate" to execute vengeance on tyranny. (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 26.) The same "civil magistrate" who under circumstances is able to be the revolutionary "magistrate" of rank, has the right to draw the sword against the persecutor. (*The*

*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, pp. 195, 204, 320.) "All persecutors of all sorts ought by the civil sword to be restrainted and punished as the destroyers of mankind and all civil and peaceable beings in the world according to the light of their cruel and murderous oppressions." (*Ibid.* p. 481.) So in this also quietistic resignation is condemned.

Through the separation of the church from the civil state, Williams hopes to arrive at an emphasis of the proper civil functions, and, as it were, to direct for its social purpose the surplus power which becomes free for the state through the abandonment of its religious duties. Cotton had taken the matters of dispute between members of the family and masters and servants away from the judgment and sentence of the state: and the existing patriarchal order of society placed, in fact, even the workingman under the family-discipline and family-right. The withdrawing of authority to judge over disputes within the family had to receive a tremendously significant place in the regulation of the state in the social development. And Williams reproaches Cotton: "I observe, furthermore, how they (the doctrines of Cotton) take away from the magistrate that which is his proper cognizance, as the complaints of servants, children, wives, against their parents, masters, husbands, etc. Families as families, being as stones which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the magistrate's care in respect of civil government, civil order, and obedience." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 134.) "To whom should the servant or child or wife petition or complain against oppression unless to the public father, master and husband of the Commonweal." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 284.) In this the civil order of Williams is more nearly like a patriarchal civil-being, than the civil "laisser faire, laisser aller" of the Rights of Man. Cotton mentions in addition to the "Komprehension" within the church, also a word for the toleration of lesser evils within the state. Williams excludes toleration in the latter as well as in the former. (*Ibid.* pp. 108, 138.) His civil state

plunges—freed from impeding admixtures—with unceasing aggression into its duties and labors. Williams complains vigorously that the "Model of Church and Civil Power" which the New England churches worked out, even in the spirit of confining civil authority, prohibits the civil state from punishing expressed evils: "so they take away and disrobe him of that authority, which God has clothed him with." (*Ibid.* p. 284. At the same time he refers to the indications of prosperity which the economic life of the nations experiences because of toleration. Williams repeatedly applies the example of Holland to this thesis: the weakening of the economic power of countries is emphasized by their persecutions.)

"Heathen" states are not only legitimate and lawful, but their civil efficacy, the success of their commonweales, suffers no diminution through the heathen nature. The Christian religion can not claim any right over the well-being of the commonweale: according to the nature of religion any influence upon the affairs of Nature is forbidden her. States with corrupt religions enjoy prosperity and well-being. Williams declares that he could not well believe it when Cotton says, "that outward civil peace cannot stand where religion is corrupt. When so many stately kingdoms and governments in the world have long and long enjoyed civil peace and quiet, notwithstanding that religion is so corrupt, as that there is not the very name of Jesus Christ among them." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 216.) It were an exceedingly dangerous opinion, namely, that the social and spiritual beings, the state and the church, "are like Hypocrates twins, they are born together, grow up together, laugh together, weep together, sicken and die together." (*Ibid.* p. 286.)

The intrinsic justification which Williams in all these ways allows to be assigned to the civil and social life, he also extends to the "particularity" and "self-hood" of the civil world. He affirms the latter in the fulness of its forms and meanings, and fights angrily against Cotton who might

thereby squeeze all civil matters into one scheme since he (Cotton) declares the essences of the Mosaic order of society as eternal and unchangeable. Williams acknowledges instead of a free historical movement, the historical evolution of the civil world. The order of nature is unchangeable throughout all time: "Civil alters according to the constitutions of peoples and nations." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 80.) Indeed, certain moral principles in the laws of Moses are eternal; but only in the substance, not in the material circumstances. Whatever remains in them that is timeless must also work itself out "according to the nature and constitutions of the several nations and peoples of the world." (*Ibid.* p. 485.) Williams fights through with Cotton particularly this question about the problem of the punishment for adultery which Cotton wishes to adapt to Mosaic law: for it Christ has established no fixed punishment, but "leaves the several nations of the world to their own several laws and agreements, . . . according to their several natures, dispositions, and their common peace and welfare." (*Ibid. p.* 487.) Thus Christ approved "the several human ordinances or creations." (*Ibid.* p. 488.) Cotton's intolerance must deny the legality of the several and heterogeneous governments and forms of government, and force them all "to one common law." (*Ibid.* p. 488.) One dare not, however, overrate the inner affirmation of the different nature of the world in space and time. Plainly it is the historical change which Williams calls forth to draw on the eternal and timeless lawful religion from its influence over the changeable state. He emphasizes the historical change so much in order to be able to defend the religious matter before them, and affirms it in favor of the civil-social sphere, because he has withdrawn religion out of this sphere. Like many other theorists of tolerance, he enters into the revolutionary change of religious opinions of the English nation, how they changed with their sovereigns from Roman Catholic to Anglican, from Anglican to Protestant, and so forth, "as the longest

sword and strongest arm of flesh carries it." (*Letters*, p. 219. "Letter to Endicott.") "The fathers have made their sons heretics, and the sons their fathers." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 20.) The historical change is to Williams, indeed, very frequently an indication of the transitoriness of the creature: "Vain uncertain and changeable mutations of the present evil world." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 20.) "Certain uncertainties of friends, treasures, revenues, armies, forts, magazines, castles, ships, and navies, crowns and lives." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 16.) This charge plainly makes the civil world of inferior merit and dignity. With this corresponds also Williams' view of history: prevailing, undeceived princes (Karl V; Philip II) and the deception of the English nation by the usurper Warbeck: transitoriness and deception of earthly beings.

The affirmation of the individual rights of states is so frequently united by Williams to the discussion of the right of resistance against heretical princes. Intolerance seems to him to embrace in itself the doctrine of the dethronement of heretical princes. He who objects to the social right of existence of the subjects because of a religious disqualification, will also not permit the heretical princes to have authority in his civil life. He who believes in his duty to have to eradicate the heretic from the face of the earth, will also not make a stop before heretical princes: "such kings and magistrates ought as well as thousands of his subjects in like case to be put to death." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 420. Likewise, *Ibid.* pp. 86, 205.) "All persecutors hold the Pope's traiterous doctrine of deposing heretical princes." (*Ibid.* p. 302.) Persecution is synonymous with the "Popish bloody doctrine of deposing heretical kings." (*Ibid.* p. 281.) It is the "Theory of the Powder Plot." (*Ibid.* p. 497.)

Under such presentations, Williams therefore has certain difficulties about the toleration of the Catholics, whose Popes explicitly defended and practised this right. (Against

it, the toleration of the Jews is urged with unreserved energy.) The Catholic religion seemed, nevertheless, so loaded with doctrines hostile to civility that in Williams' time very few had ventured to speak of tolerating Catholics. In favor of it, Williams goes about to explain that doctrine about the deposing of heretical princes as alien to the true basic dogma of the Catholics. The Catholics had given proof of their loyalty in many Protestant countries; many in England had taken the Oath of allegiance. One entire Catholic kingdom (France) had spoken out in 1610 against the disloyal book of the Jesuit Mariana and thereby shown how even the Catholic religion can be reconciled with civil matters, and how unjust Cotton is "to chain up all Papists in an impossibility of yielding civil obedience." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 311.) Williams however held the toleration of Catholics to fixed stipulations: the state may require them to take the Oath of civil engagement and to yield up their arms, and the state may also mark them "as the Jews are in some parts by some distinction of or on their garments." (*Ibid.* p. 314.)

That it was possible for Williams, from his broadly laid-out rejection of the deposing of heretical princes to infer a reciprocal duty of the princes and to guard the civil-social rights of his heretical subjects, is due to the peculiar social-civil conception of Williams. This conception rests in the identity of the civil and social rights and relations. The state leads no independent life without society and, that which makes it lawful, makes legitimate also the whole body of social relationships, and to dispute its self-designed immanent legitimacy signifies an abolition and a negation of all social relations. One may compare, for example, the following utterance of Williams: "And hence it is true, that a Christian captain, Christian merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master, and so consequently magistrate, etc., is no more a captain, merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master, magistrate, etc., than a captain, merchant, etc., of any other conscience or

religion." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 341.) The state appears here as the product of the social division of labor: the essence of the state resting entirely on the existence of a portion of the governing classes. This portion has an occupation among other occupations, as a special social group among other groups. The civil being is also dissolved into the social being. One can also say Williams robs, as it were, the state of its public nature, in that, he identifies it with the remaining social relations and constituents. The legitimacy of the state becomes the legitimacy of a social vocational-group; its immanent "legitimacy" differs not at all in principle from the "authorization" of the business of a merchant and the legality of a mercantile business. (Transl. Note: See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, Part III, Chapt. 12. The state is a public service corporation. See also, *The Political Thought of Roger Williams.*) A "Christian" state would in the conception of Williams presuppose a "Christian" banking business, a "Christian" fishery, a "Christian" medical science, and so forth. Thus Williams is able to defend the biblical phrase to give Caesar what is Caesar's into making legitimate the "Totalität" of social relationships and to place the affirmation of the state beyond all religious presumptions on a parity with the claims of all citizens, like that religious qualification, on all social right to property and life. "Although that a man is not godly, a Christian, sincere, a church member, yet to deprive him of any civil right or privilege due to him as a Man, a Subject. a Citizen, is to take from Caesar that which is Caesar's, which God endures not though it be given to himself." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 414.) Thus whilst Williams deprives religion of any connection with the state, he also disestablishes the state.

As Williams has justified the non-religious state as a civil state in the fulness of its essence and being, he in addition proceeds to defend on the basis of this legitimacy the full-rights of non-religious citizens as unassailable. Just as each state is "complete" as a state beyond its religious

creeds, so is also each citizen as a citizen. The social functions of the subject are not able, because of his religious creed, to possess the least enhancement, improvement, influence, not even a coloring or a toning down. "And I ask whether or not such as hold forth other worships or religions Jews, Turks, or anti-Christians, may not be peaceable and quiet subjects, loving and helpful neighbors, fair and just dealers, true and loyal to the civil government." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 112.) The society moves by its own impulsive power. Social and religious morals are two different forces. The social moral is something natural, and grows inevitably out of the social, immanent and natural necessities. There is a social moral which needs no religious impulse: "There is a moral virtue, a moral fidelity and honesty, which other men besides churchmembers are by good nature and education, by good laws and good examples nourished and trained up in." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 365.) There is a "civil faithfulness, obedience, honesty, chastity." (*Ibid.* p. 207.) These differentiate themselves naturally from religious obedience, religious faithfulness and religious virtue. It is dangerous "to confound the nature of civil and moral goodness with religious." (*Ibid.* p. 406.) On that account it is an error to assume that "religious" sins are able to menace the civil state. Individual sins indeed may affect and trouble the social life. "But blindness of the soul, hardening of the heart, the inclination to choose this or that God, this or that Christ besides the true one, these injure not even remotely the commonwealth, since they do not affect it, but only the spiritual kingdom." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 328.) Even persons without any religion can be put into possession of that social morality, which makes them suitable members of society.

Thus the social being experiences no suggestion or pressure because of religious powers. Neither the society as a whole nor the individual social trade groups suffer a declension through the religious changes. "Yea, though

the whole worship of the city of Ephesus should be altered, yet if men be true and honestly ingenuous the city covenants, combinations and principles, all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the peace of the city of Ephesus." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 47.) The change in religion becomes the more significant, if within the society there is established a religious congregation which represents itself as a process of continual organizing and dissolving of the religious union in which persons assemble spontaneously to disunite and again break up when its purpose is accomplished. Such a voluntary union is the religious congregation, in fact one of the "companies and societies voluntarily entering into combinations which are distinct from the city." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 69.) No political and social theorist, not even Locke, (Locke, John, (1632-1704) *Toleration*, (1685), and *Two Treatises of Government*. (1690) has so ruggedly worked out the idea that the church is an "association," a corporation with private rights: "The church, or company of worshippers, whether true or false, is like unto a body or college of physicians in a city—like unto a corporation, society, or company of East India or Turkey merchants, or any other society or company of London; which companies may hold their courts, keep their records, hold disputations, and in matters concerning their society may dissent, divide, break into schisms and factions, sue and implead each other at the law, yea, wholly break up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the peace of the city not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the essence of the city, and so the well-being and peace thereof, is essentially distinct from those particular societies; the city courts, city laws, city punishments distinct from them. The city was before them, and stands absolute and entire when such a corporation or society is taken down." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 46.)

Christianity and religion have lost entirely their social effectiveness. Religion has nowhere become flesh, and has

nowhere assumed a characteristic form. Christianity is without any formative power for the things of this earth. There are no "Christian states"; there is no "Christian world." Christianity, as Williams conceives it, loses its outward form and its visibility. It would be deprived of its original essence, if it entered into a combination with the things of this world. It is not able to impress its stamp on the earthly things, and there are in this world no longer any sacred things. The idea which we have so frequently come upon, that Christ removed the distinction between holy and unholy, pure and impure, Williams modifies in many different ways. Upon this earth no longer lies the shadow of Holiness; the holy nowhere any longer becomes characteristic form. Williams falls upon this idea in order particularly to destroy essentially the superiority of the Christian world over the non-Christian. The nations are all alike pure and impure. None can thereby exalt itself above the others, in that it boasts of its religious perfection, and because it claims for itself a peculiar Holiness. All nations stand equal before God. Since the New Testament times there is no longer any "holy nation": the Israel of the Old Testament was a prototype of the holy nation of Christ, which is chosen out of the few Elect whom Christ has called out of the nations of the earth. No nation is called unanimously. Even the "Christian" nations are equal to the others before God. Williams offers vehement objections against "this sanctifying of a new land of Canaan." (*Queries of Highest Consideration*, p. 19.) "Are not all the nations of the earth alike clean unto God? Or rather, alike unclean until it pleaseth the Father of mercies to call some out to the knowledge and grace of his Son, making them to wash in the blood of the Lamb of God?" (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 281.) "But now the partition-wall is broken down, and in respect of the Lord's special propriety to one country more than another, what difference between Asia and Africa, between Europe and America, between England and Turkey, London and Con-

stantinople?" (*Ibid.* p. 275.) For Williams also made war on the colonial policy of annexation by force which makes an appeal to the inner spiritual "religious" pre-eminence of Christian nations. Out of this sanctification and religious glorification of Christian nations follows "the sin of the patents, wherein Christian kings, so-called-(!) are invested with the right by virtue of their Christianity to take away and give away the lands and countries of other men," who are not Christian. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 461.) In a more interesting way this interpretation provides Williams also with a means to rebuke the overbearing manner of the colonies towards Mother England. In Cotton's mind there had arisen on American soil a land of God and a kingdom of Christ, which was exalted spiritually far above religious-corrupt England. Against this notion, Williams says: "I for myself acknowledge the land of England not to be inferior to any under heaven." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 407.) Through this denial of the spiritual superiority of New England, he hopes also to be able to break the persecution of New England, "stopping New England's persecutions by the mercy of Old England, the mother of dissenting consciences." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 463.)

Christianity, as Williams understands it, ceases therefore to compromise with the Forms of this earth, because it itself remains with fixed Form as a permanent Pattern. Every established pattern in religious things signifies for our logician, — to neglect religion and the godly matters with a "Kreatural Bildhaftigkeit," to run counter to the command of God not to make an image of Him. This begins even with the earliest religious experience of the individual. Even here Williams struggles against a fixed, bound and rigid pattern. The religious belief ought to be a constant spiritual struggle, a continual flowing, becoming and bubbling of the spirit. (Naturally it ought not be denied that, with the belief in predestination, in Williams who accepted the belief of individual "Election," that is,

security and irrevocability, there are also other heterogeneous motives operative.) Perseverance in the once attained Truth, lethargy in religious truth, is sinful confidence in natural insight. The belief in the insecurity of human knowledge could become a natural motive in favor of tolerance. In fact, Williams constructs in part his ideas of tolerance upon the insecurity of human knowledge; (Transl. Note: Williams was closely associated with the scientific movement of the seventeenth century, and so emphasized experience, experiment and inquiry in life and thought.) No one can know whether he follow in a heresy and not the Lord: "It is a dangerous thing to put this to the may-be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility." (*Letters*, "To Endicott," August 1651, p. 225.) "May not the most High be pleased to hide from his (the persecutor's) as well as from the eyes of his fellow servants, fellow mankind, fellow English? And if God hide from his, from any, who can discover?" (*Ibid.* p. 216.) It was a "holy purpose" of God to permit all the duplicity of religious knowledge in which the individual, thrown about erring and reeling, is placed, "as it displays Himself only perfect and excellent and all the rest of men in all ages but farthing candles, yea, smoking firebrands." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 39.) Thus are the people: "poor dust and ashes, like stones once rolling down the Alps, like Indian canoes or English boats loose and adrift, where stop we until infinite mercy stop us, especially, when a false fire of zeal and confidence drives us." (*Letters*, "To Endicott," p. 226.)

Neither does Williams hold to the belief in a true church now existing in the world. Nor does religious essence here take on form; nor ought it here become an earthly image. The children of God are obscured, and divided in opinions. They are not able to be reconciled since they live entirely ignorant of themselves and the world. "The rich mines of golden truth lie hid under barren hills, and in obscure holes and corners." (*Bloudy*

*Tenent*, p. 150.) Thousand of God's Elect live in the national, diocesan and parish churches and go about among the mass of "Idolaters." "God's people in their persons are His, most dear and precious, yet in respect of the Christian worship, they are mingled amongst the Babylonians." (*Ibid.* p. 40.) They are nearest to God, "that separate both from one and the other, yet are divided also among themselves into several professions." (*Ibid.* p. 302.) "But as the lily is among the thorns, so is Christ's love among the daughters; and as the apple-tree among the trees of the forest, so is her beloved among the sons." (*Ibid.* p. 65.) "What are two or three or more of regenerate or godly persons in such communions, but as two or three roses or lilies in a wilderness? A few grains of good corn in a heap of chaff? A few sheep among herds of wolves or swine, or (if more civil) flocks of goats? A little good dough swallowed up with a whole bushel of leaven? Or a little precious gold confounded and mingled with a whole heap of dross?" (*Ibid.* p. 421.)

The religious opinion of Williams is therefore represented variously as a religion of escape—as an escape from the business and evil ways of the world. The flower of religion blossoms in hidden places, and the church—Williams returns frequently to this comparison — is like an enclosed and hedged in garden into which penetrates no "breath from the agitated world." Separation from the world, isolation, is the mark of the religious adjustment of Williams. "A false religion out of the church will not hurt the church, no more than weeds in a wilderness hurt the enclosed garden or poison hurts the body when it is not touched or taken, yea, and antidotes are received against it." (*Ibid.* p. 167.) "If the weeds be kept out of the garden of the church, the roses and lilies therein will flourish, notwithstanding, that weeds abound in the field of the civil state." (*Ibid.* p. 156.) He charges the adherents of the state-church, that they wish to make the garden and the wilder-

ness a unity. (*Ibid.* p. 170.) Cotton wishes to make the dung-heaps of the world the blossoming gardens of Christ.

In all this sticks at bottom a goodly piece of hardheaded religious egoism. Without the weeds may flourish, if only in my garden the roses blossom; and without the storm may howl and the ships be shattered to pieces, if only my ships lie safely at anchor. Williams is filled with the fear that the purity of his soul and his religion might suffer alarm and dangers of the world; but the world may be destroyed if only my soul suffers no harm! He speaks of "the lamentable ship-wreck of mankind" (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 3) from which it is worthwhile to save oneself. He longs to be of the true church: "also separated from the rubbish of anti-Christian confessions and desolations." (Ibid. p. 41.) "Having bought truth dear, we must not sell it cheap, not the least grain of it, for the whole world; no, not for the saving of souls." (*Ibid.* p. 9.) He reminds Parliament:

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Therein is contained also the analysis of the tolerance-scheme of Cotton. Here contend not merely tolerance and intolerance, but also one idea of tolerance with another. Within the church (Cotton admits certain toleration even without the church — even if hemmed in by reservations and disqualifications.) Cotton desires to tolerate everything which is at one with things fundamental. Williams throws out headlong the idea of toleration within the church. Cotton wishes to transplant the stinking weeds into the garden of God. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 142.) "Komprehension" Williams holds is a disgrace to the church of God. Everything, even the smallest tares must be weeded out of the garden of Christ. Williams conceives the notion of heretics more strictly than does Cotton: the opposition to God even in the smallest matters makes one an heretic. (*Ibid.* p. 99.) The question which has been presented to all plans of Comprehension: Where is the borderline? What belongs to fundamental truths? is also raised by Williams, (*Ibid.* p. 117.) In addition Williams is radically opposed to every presentation of a Christian unified-front which at best brings such plans to naught; his more sublime religious standpoint removes all current Christianity at so great a distance that the removal of it from non-Christian religion diminishes to a vanishing point. The "Christiani omnes sumus" has in him an embittered opponent. His tolerance is a tolerance of ultimate intolerance; a tolerance of spiritual abandonment and of spiritual resignation of "the world").

"Be not so busy about the earthly state, no nor the heavenly estate of others, as to forget to make sure you own vocation and election." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 15.) We dare not expose ourselves to the dangers of the world, not even to save a soul. Each for himself, and God for all of us. "Christ commands his disciples to let the blind man go until he falls into the grave." (*Bloudy* Tenent, p. 19.)

One pulse of the heart is indistinguishable from the others. Williams is a strict adherent of Calvinistic predestination, (Transl. Note: Freund fails to distinguish between "unconditional" and "conditional" election. Williams held the Lutheran position of "conditional election." Or in other words Williams took the idea of "predestination" more nearly in the sense in which Paul presents the idea in the New Testament. See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, Part IV, Chapter 2, "The Seeker Religion"), and constructs in part his idea of tolerance upon it. About condemnation and sanctification God alone has the determination and him whom he has chosen for eternal peace, no errors can trouble. (Transl. Note: Freund is in error here, for Williams admits that even the elect are uncertain of their election. See Ernst: *Roger Williams*, "The Seeker Religion.") The Elect need no protection: God's sheep are safe in his eternal hand. "Dead men cannot be infected. The civil state, the world, being in a natural state, dead in sin, whatever be the state-religion unto which persons are forced, it is impossible it should be infected. Indeed, the living, the believing, the church and spiritual state, that and that only is capable of infection; for whose help we shall presently see what preservatives and remedies the Lord Jesus hath appointed. Moreover, as we see in a common plague or infection, the names are taken, how many are to die, and not one more shall be struck than the destroying angel hath names of: so here whatever be the soul-infection breathed out from the lying lips of a plague-stricken Pharisee, yet the names are taken, not one elect

or chosen of God shall perish. God's sheep are safe in his eternal hand and counsel, and he knows his material, knows also his mystical stars, their numbers, and calls them every one by name. None fall into the ditch on the blind Pharisee's back, but such as were ordained to that condemnation, both guide and followers. The vessels of wrath shall break and split, and only they, to the praise of God's eternal justice. (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 97.) "Who can pluck these sheep, the elect, out of his hand." (*Ibid.* p. 115.) Intolerance builds upon the Popish doctrine of free will, as if "it lay in their own power and ability to believe upon the magistrate's command." (*Ibid.* p. 222.)

A religious positiveness flows through the entire thinking of Williams. He does not let the seducer of men in religious matters get away without combat, and of a spiritual toleration of these whom he wrests away from the gallows of the state there is no word: in the state the law demands—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life; and in the kingdom of the church the law—a soul for a soul. (*Ibid.* p. 96.)

At the bottom of every religious theory of Williams, reposes the refusal of any spiritual conquest of the world. This has been denied because it would presuppose secular "sovereignty." To Williams, moreover, each "domination" represents a menace to true religiousness. The divine illumination is vouchsafed only to the lower classes of people, for the most part in their wholeness of religious sensibility. A profound spiritual aversion of the demon of power and authority overcomes our thinker, and a vehement mistrust of the upper classes of society. In the dedication (to the Parliament) of the *Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* and in a "Letter to Endicott" (Letters, p. 214) he speaks of a particular seduction for which the rulers are censured. Their spiritual welfare is more powerfully exposed to danger than that of all the others; therefore, true Christianity shines very seldom upon the leaders of social and civil life. To let the rulers decide upon the

religion of the state signifies from thence always the sovereignity of the unreligious persons over the church. God is "Maximus in minimis." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 4.) Even culture and knowledge through which the great world shines, does not guarantee the religious truth which is the grace and gift of God. "God delights to befool the wise and high." (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 209.) "The Most High and glorious God hath chosen the poor of the world and the witnesses of truth are clothed in sackcloth, not in silk and satin." (*Bloudy Tenent*, p. 151.) This so-called poverty is however not the poverty of the proletarian suffering, but the "plainness" of the middle class. The kings of the earth seldom enter into heavenly glory: Williams trembles approvingly as he tells how Buchanan on his deathbed directed these words to King James — "Remember my humble service to his majesty, and tell him Buchanan is going to a place where few kings come." (*Ibid.* p. 151.) "Not many wise and good are called but the poor receive the Gospel, as God hath chosen the poor of the world to be rich in faith." (*Ibid.* p. 355.) Thus Williams can express the conviction that persecution oppresses predominately those saints of God who indeed never share in that civil power which does the persecuting. It is only a "seeming impartiality," if among the heaps of slaughtered an anti-Christian is found here and there. (*Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, p. 34.)

From hence it is not much further to a spiritual depreciation of the order of tolerance which makes light the cross for the Saints of Christ. Williams has at the bottom of his soul very little faith in the universal realization of toleration. Oppression will forever be the distinctive mark of the people of God, and will remain so. The Saints have flourished the most in grace and piety under persecution. Constantine was more fatal to the church of God than Nero. (*Ibid.* p. 334.) Thus the idea of toleration will not be in the form of a universal world order, but merely a criterion of the Saints and a means of spiritual justification.

The papists ought to be tolerated, so that this forbearance may witness against them and their persecution, and crush them under their disgrace. (*Ibid.* p. 27.) The idea of toleration is, as a whole, not to be considered favorable to the liberation of mankind in general from guilt and evil, but a part of that scheme of salvation of the privileged of God out of the universal "lamentable ship-wreck of mankind."

## Queen's Fort

Mr. Norman M. Isham calls attention to the mention of "The Queen's Fort, so called" as early as December 1724 in the *R. I. Colonial Records* IV, p. 349. This establishes the fact that the Queen's Fort was called by that name within the lifetime of persons who had lived through King Philip's War. For an account of Queen's Fort see *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections* for October, 1931.

## Notes

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Rev. Paul C. Burhoe Mrs. John R. Freeman
Mrs. C. H. Horton

# New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*A History and Church Directory of Holy Trinity Parish, Tiverton, R. I., 1933*, by Rev. Herbert B. Gwyn, is a pamphlet of 24 pages.

*The John's Island Stud*, presented to the Society by the author, Fairfax Harrison, Esq., contains an important eight-page account of early Narragansett pacers.

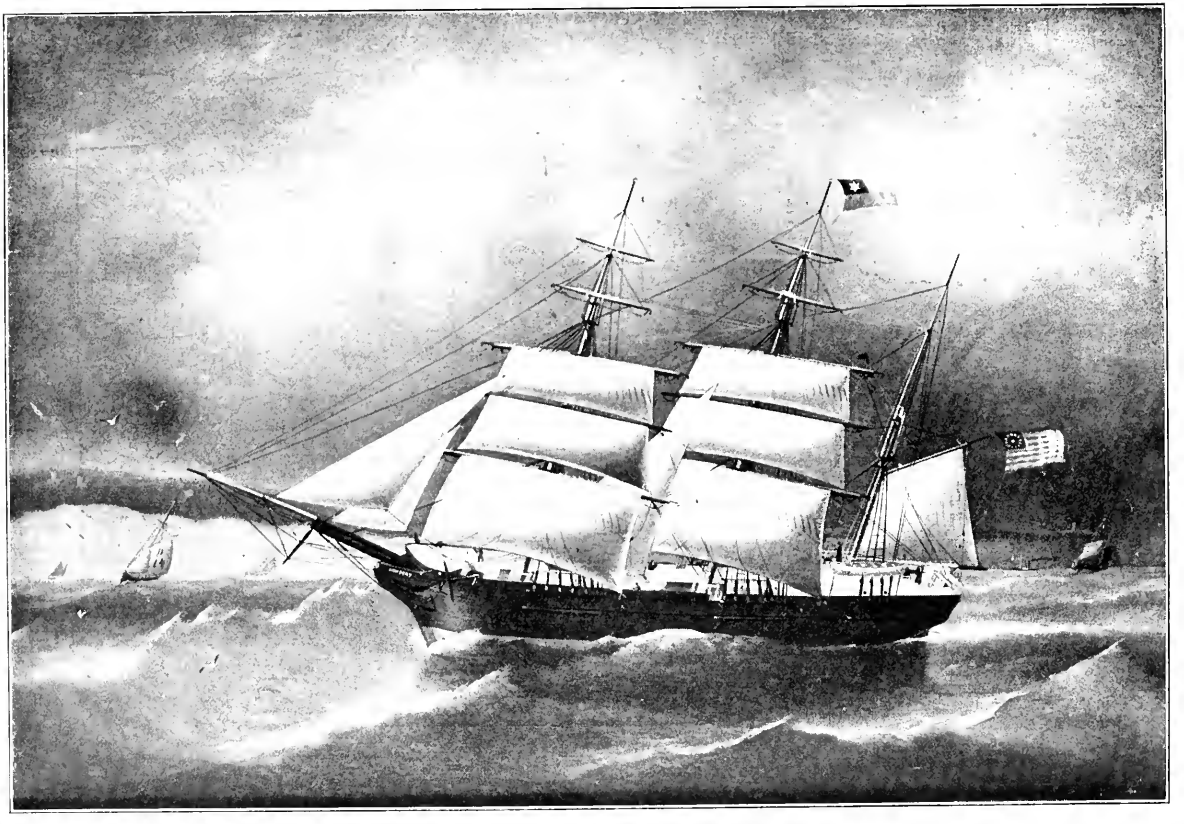
An historical *Map of South Kingstown* by Carder H. Whaley and Alfred T. Taylor, 1933, shows the original layouts of the land of the early settlers.

*Antiques* for July 1933 contains several items of Rhode Island interest: an illustrated editorial on Goddard's clock cases and a Goddard table; an illustrated account of Ethan Stillman, gunsmith, and his work, by Charles D. Cook; and a critical study of a Pawtucket eagle tavern sign by Homer Eaton Keyes.

*Some Unpublished Berkeley Letters with some new Berkeleiana* by A. A. Luce, is a reprint of 20 pages from the April 1933 *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.

The July issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains an article on the early generations of the Knight family of Rhode Island by G. Andrews Moriarty, A.M., F.S.A.

The Mount Hope Bridge Corporation has issued an interesting map of Newport and southeastern Rhode Island.



BARK NEWPORT

*From a painting owned by the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company.*

## Form of Legacy

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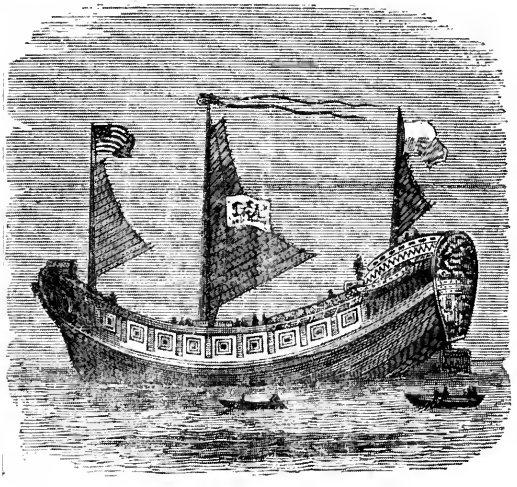

THE CHINESE JUNK KE YING WHICH VISITED PROVIDENCE IN 1847. (*See page 5*)

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# On a German Regiment Stationed at Newport

*By* HILMAR H. WEBER, PH.D.

The troops of the German allies of Great Britain, during the American War of Independence, which are persistently misnamed the Hessian Mercenaries (being neither mercenaries, nor all Hessians), have been unkindly treated by fate. They were listed in the Declaration of Independence among the grievances of the Colonies; they were denounced in scathing terms by Schiller; and they have finally suffered from the altered attitude of mind that accompanied the change in the whole military system a few decades after their activity.

Soldiering in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was so wholly a paid profession, that it mattered little to the private soldier, and scarcely any more to an officer, in the

army of what country he served. Rulers were especially eager to fill up the ranks of their forces with foreigners, and thereby conserve the human resources of their own state. Under these conditions it was not expected that a man should enter upon a campaign out of motives of patriotism or devotion to his native soil. He fought for a given state because he had voluntarily entered its army, and he was as little concerned with the reasons that caused this state to take up arms, as he was with the motives of the opponent.

Armies in the eighteenth century were small and costly, and on the outbreak of a war, there was a general seeking of allies who might be willing to put a few carefully trained regiments at ones disposal. Often the only return that could be given was subsidies, since a share of conquered territory would have had no value to a small state. There is one additional feature that made the use of auxiliary, or as they were called "subsidy", troops very natural in the case of the American War of Independence: it was regarded in Europe as a rebellion, and no stigma attaches in suppressing it.

It is interesting, to the historian, to find in the army registers of the different states involved, mention of service in North America. The Prussian Army Register for 1806 records such service for one of the regiments. As Prussia did not furnish any troops to England and, in fact, Frederick the Great was a firm friend of the Colonies, we might be surprised at this mention of service in America, till we saw that it was only in 1792 that the Regiment became Prussian, it having previously been in the service of the Margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth.

The history of Ansbach and Bayreuth is extremely complicated. In brief, these two principalities formed the domains of the Hohenzollern family before they became Margraves and Electors of Brandenburg. These two principalities, situated in Southern Germany remained separate practically all the time, and were ruled by the cadet branches. In 1761 Friedrich Christian, the last Margrave of Bayreuth, died, and the Margrave of Ansbach now ruled

over both principalities. In 1791 he abdicated in favor of his kinsman, the Elector of Brandenburg, King of Prussia. It was on this occasion that the two regiments, known to students of the American Revolution as the Ansbach Regiment and the Bayreuth Regiment (which names show that the dominions of the Margrave of Ansbach consisted of two parts recently joined) were taken over, combined into a single regiment, into the Prussian service.

With these facts in mind, we can now turn to the entry itself which is to be found on pages 145 and 146 of:
Stammliste aller Regimenter und Corps der Königlich-Preussischen Armee. Für das Jahr 1806. Berlin, 1806. Zum Besten der Militär-Erziehungs-Anstalten. In Commission der Himburgschen Buchhandlung.

In translation it reads as follows:

No. 56 Regiment Graf Tauentzien
(Franconian Inspection)

Garrison: Neuenkirchen near Baireuth; Culmbach (Grenadiers); Crailsheim (third battalion).

Uniform: Scarlet cuff-facings, revers, and collars. Officers have narrow silver lace around the rims of the hat, convex silver buttons, and silver aguilettes.

Recruiting District: Formerly the entire principality of Ansbach, with all cities situated therein, amounting to 36262 hearths, constituted the recruiting district, and furnished the recruits of four squadrons of the Hussar Battalion von Bila. The dispositions for the new district are still to be made.

Origin: This regiment was formed in 1794, in Mainz, out of the former Margravial regiment: Voit von Salzburg[1], von Reizenstein, and the Grenadier Battalion von Beust[2].

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[1]Voit von Salzburg was colonel of the Regiment Bayreuth at the time of the surrender at Yorktown.

[2]von Beust was major in the Regiment Ansbach at the same time.

Campaigns: In the service of the Margrave of Ansbach, the Regiments von Voit and von Reizenstein took part in the American war as subsidy troops of England, from 1777 to 1783. In 1777 they took part in the expedition of General Clinton on the North River, and the Grenadiers participated in the storming of Fort Montgomery. Further they helped effect the opening of the Delaware. In 1778 they were in Newport, and after the relieving of the siege, they took part in the pursuit of the enemy and in the action of Turkey-Hill. In 1780 they fought in the action at Springfield on the Jersey. In 1781 they were under Lord Cornwallis in the fortified and besieged camp at Yorktown, sharing the fate of the Corps, and remained as prisoners of war in Virginia.

In 1788 the Grenadier Battalion von Beust and the Regiment von Reizenstein served as garrison of Nimwegen as Dutch subsidy troops. In 1792 they entered the Royal[3] service, and participated in the campaign of 1793 with the Dutch Army. They were present at the blockade of Breda, participated in the attack of Muschin, during the battle of Famars, as vanguard of the Dutch Corps; they defended Lanoy in Flanders for twelve weeks against many threatened attacks and a formal assault with heavy artillery. They were present at the blockade of Maubeuge, and shared notably in the defence of the Bois de Tilleul. In 1794 they were transferred to the Army of the Rhine, where they remained as defence for the Line of Demarcation till November 1795, and then returned to their garrison[4].

Commanders:

1794 Major General von Reizenstein, died.
1795 Colonel von Laurens, died a major general in 1803.
1804 Major General Count von Tauentzien.

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[3]This means, of course, Prussian service.

[4]The regiment was disbanded in 1806 or 1807.

# The Chinese Junk Ke Ying at Providence

*By* Howard M. Chapin

Miss Caroline Hazard recently presented to the Society an undated broadside bearing the picture of a Chinese junk. This junk has been identified as the *Keying*. According to information supplied by the Peabody Museum of Salem: "She sailed from Hong Kong, Dec. 6, 1846, and was off the Cape of Good Hope 114 days out. Seventeen days later she arrived at St. Helena, where she remained for some time. From there she went to New York and then around to Boston. She sailed from Boston for London on Feb. 17, 1848."

A search through Rhode Island newspapers disclosed several items showing that she arrived at Newport October 24, reached Providence on Nov. 2, sailed for Fall River on Nov. 12, and reached Boston Nov. 20.

The *Keying* was in New York in September 1847 and the following item appeared in the *Providence Journal*[1] of September 6, 1847.

"THE JUNKETING OF THE JUNKETEERS.—

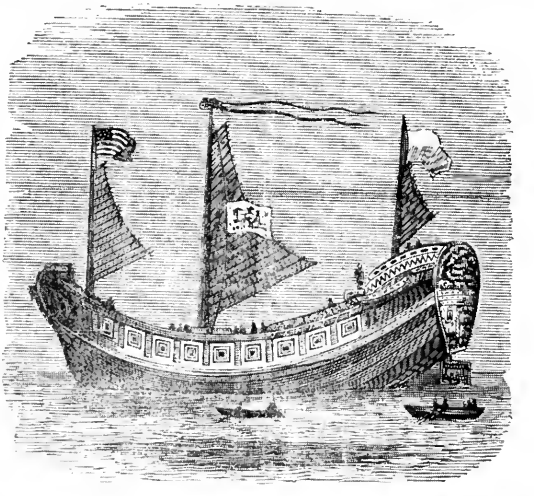
"The seven Chinamen, of the crew of the Keying, Capt. Kellett, were examined at the Special Sessions yesterday, and discharged. So far as the reports in the morning papers are to be relied upon, it would seem that the crew had become dissatisfied with their long detention from their 'own, their native land,' and sought by force to induce the captain to fulfill a contract made with them, to the effect that the voyage was to be limited to eight months, at eight dollars per month wages.

[1]Also in *The Manufacturers and Farmers Journal* of the same date.

# CHINESE JUNK.

The greatest curiosity ever exhibited in this city, may now be seen at

**FOX POINT WHARF, FOR A FEW DAYS.**



This is, probably, the only opportunity that will ever be offered to our citizens of viewing this *great wonder of the Western World.*

The Junk is a perfect model of Chinese ship building 2000 years since. ☞ *Admission* 25 *cents.*
Open for exhibition, from 9 o'clock, A. M. to 6 P. M.

*From original recently presented to this Society by Miss Caroline Hazard.*

"The men complained that they rarely saw the captain, but at length finding him with the mate in Castle Garden, they gathered around the two, disputes arose, and blows followed. The prisoners allege that the mate struck the first blow, whereas the mate and captain both testified that the assault commenced on the part of the prisoners. That the crew had beaten the mate and otherwise acted riotously, appears plainly enough; but probably there was much difficulty in clearly comprehending the whole case, and the Court inclining to a merciful view of their conduct, discharged the offenders. How far this decision will affect the contract with the entire crew is a question in which the captain, we presume, will be somewhat interested. The agreement, as translated by Mr. Williams, is as follows. It was about six inches long and four wide, and written in Chinese on pink rice paper.

" 'This is to be a true testimony about going on a foreign seas. This man is from Chow Chow. There is now an English country's captain, who has set up a voyage in a vessel called the Keying. This is to request men to go on a foreign ocean from Hong Kong. The limit of the voyage is eight months, at $8 per month.

" 'That when they get to the end of the voyage if they wish they can return home—the captain shall provide them with a good ship and pay all expenses. As they can't give security, they form themselves into a brethern 25 in all. They are not to run away or steal anything from the vessel. The contract is understood in the shop Meekin; and is clearly and fully understood by the captain, and he take this to be our contract. Dated on the 26th of the year of the Emperor Taou-Kwang, (August, 1826[2], of our year).' *N. Y. Com. Adv.*"

The *Newport Mercury of* October 30 contains these two items:

"Arrived. Sunday, Oct. 24. Chinese Junk, fm New York for Boston."

[2]Misprint in newspaper for 1846.

"The Chinese Junk—This outlandish craft arrived in our harbor on Sunday last from New York, on her way to Boston. Since her arrival she has been exhibited for several days to the public at 25 cents each, but does not appear to have excited much curiosity, and the number of visitors are said to be small."

The *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal* (Providence), in its issue of October 28, quoting from the *Newport News*, said:

"The Junk—Ten of the hands belonging on board the Junk, who had received about a month's wages in advance, took a boat from her yesterday morning and came ashore, landing at Long Wharf, and immediately made tracks out of town. Officer Smith was put on track of them, and succeeded in arresting two of them, who are now locked up. The others took 'leg bail for security,' and their whereabouts has not as yet been ascertained."

The *Providence Journal*[3] of October 28, reports:

"The Chinese Junk—We understand that the Junk has cleared at Newport for Providence," but in the Nov. 1 issue:

"The Junk—We were misinformed when we supposed the Junk had cleared at Newport for Providence."

The *Providence Journal* of Nov. 2, informs us:

"The Junk is coming to Providence after all. She is expected to be at Fox Point Wharf, ready for exhibition, to morrow morning. The Perry is to tow her up to-day."

The *Newport Mercury* of November 6 tells us:

"The Junk was towed to Providence on Monday night last by the steamer Perry."

The *Republican Herald* of Providence in the issue of November 6, records the arrival on Tuesday, Nov. 2, of "Chinese Junk Keying, Kellett, from Newport, in tow of

[3]Also in *The Manufacturers and Farmers Journal.*

the steamer Perry" and also contains the following news item:

"CHINESE JUNK — This specimen of oriental naval architecture is attracting crowds of visitors, and it is indeed worthy of a minute examination. To view the exterior of this misshapen ship is worth more than a journey to Fox Point, and that gratification may be had for the mere walk, "without money and without price." But it becomes a much greater curiosity to examine the interior, with the advantage of the explanations which will be given by the Captain or some of his intelligent officers and assistants. We enjoyed that treat last Wednesday, and recommend to all our readers not to suffer this opportunity to pass of examining this very extraordinary vessel, it is probably constructed on the model of marine craft used thousands of years ago, as far back perhaps as the Trojan war, and not unlike the one in which Aeneas visited Carthage to make love to and desert the widow Dido."

The *Providence Journal* of November 3 contains three items in regard to the arrival of the much heralded Junk.

The *Marine Intelligence* records her arrival on November 2 and an advertisement and news item[4] appear on the same page.

The advertisement reads:

"CHINESE JUNK

"The Wonder of the Western World is now exhibiting at Fox Point wharf, where she will remain for three days only. We would advise those who wish to see this great curiosity—for they will never have the chance of seeing another in these waters—to proceed on board at once.

"Hours of exhibition from 9 a. m. till 6 p. m.

"Admission 25 cts."

The news item reads:

[4]Also in *The Manufacturers and Farmers Journal* of Nov. 4.

"The Junk will be open for exhibition this morning at 9 o'clock. We cannot add any thing to the description that has already been published. She is a wonder of this Western World; and this is the only opportunity our citizens will ever have of seeing her. There are three native Chinaman on board of her,—a mandarin[5], an artist, (several specimens of whose paintings may be seen on board,) and a young lad. The Junk lies at Fox Point Wharf."

The *Daily Evening Transcript* contained three news items in regard to the junk.

On November 2 "The Chinese Junk has arrived and will be open for exhibition, to-morrow, at Fox Point Wharf. She is a queer looking craft and no mistake. We heard one of the "outside barbarians" who was looking at her this morning, say, "well she's a curious curiosity, anyway". The captain assures us that there is not the slightest occasion for tying up favorite dogs during the stay of the Junk, for the dog-eaters have been sent home."

On November 5, "Yesterday we visited this truly wonderful wonder of the world, and to our astonishment found a Museum on board. Indeed it would well repay our warfare genius if only to see the arms used during the late war with the English. To those fond of music their singular instruments all can be seen;—in fact a little of everything contained in that magnificent country. The vessel herself is to the beholder a great wonder—being totally different from any of our ships. Instead of iron cables and anchors, wood is substituted.—

"A curious Chinese dog is also on board, which opens its mouth to allow visitors to see that the inside of the mouth and tongue is of the same color as its coat[6]. Go every person

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[5]Mr. W. H. Everest contributes two notes on this mandarin. According to the *Edinburgh Review* the mandarin was "Hesing, a mandarin of the fifth class, whose distinctive mark is a crystal button on top of his cap." The *New York Morning Courier* of July 13 says that he was *Eesing*, a mandarin of the *second* class "who at home ranks as Earls do in England."

[6]Probably a black chow.

must, for we are assured they will never regret paying 25 cents.

"The Junk will remain open a few days more to allow our citizens a fair chance of seeing her."

On November 12, "The Chinese dog, belonging to the Junk, ran away on Tuesday, and wandered over into Seekonk. Mrs. Smith was on board at the time and hearing the loss, exclaimed "he's a misfortunate and foolish creeter to wander away from his friends. What in airth he'll do I don't see, for he don't understand a word of English." And the old lady offered the mandarin a punch of snuff."

The Transcript of Nov. 9 tells us:

"The Chinese Junk stays here until Thursday next.[7] About 6000 persons have visited her during the short time she has been opened for exhibition."

The *Transcript's* Marine Intelligence on Nov. 12 records:

"Cleared—Chinese Junk, Lane, Fall River, and dropped below, she is to be towed by the steamer Perry," and the *Journal* of Nov. 13, in its Marine Intelligence under date of Friday Nov. 12 says "Sailed—Chinese Junk Keying, Fall River, (in tow of steamer Perry)."

The *Transcript* of November 17, reported:

"The Chinese Junk—The Holmes' Hole correspondent of the Merchant's Exchange, under date of Monday[8] afternoon, says: 'Passed by Chinese Junk Keying, in tow of the steamer R. B. Forbes'. So she will probably reach Boston today."

A similar item appears in the *Journal* of Nov. 17:

"Holmes' Hole. Passed by 15th Chinese Junk Keying, last from Fall River for Boston in tow of the R. B. Forbes."

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[7]Nov. 11.

[8]Nov. 15.

The *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal* of November 22, records: "The Chinese Junk has arrived at Boston."

The *Newport Mercury* of November 27, quotes from the *Boston Advertiser*:

"The Keying—The proprietors of this vessel were unable to reach her proposed destination on Saturday night[9]. The consequence was that she lay through Sunday, between Charlestown and Warren bridges, exposed to the view of a great number of people, who took advantage of the occasion, and got a pretty fair sight of her *gratis*."

Mr. W. H. Everest of New Haven contributes some interesting items from New York and European papers, in regard to the Keying. According to the *New York Morning Courier*, the Keying arrived at New York on July 12, 1847, 212 days from Canton, with sixty persons on board of whom forty were Chinamen.

*John Bull*, a London weekly newspaper, in March 1848, stated that the Keying left Canton on Oct. 19, 1846, was off the Cape of Good Hope on March 30, 1847, arrived at St. Helena April 17, sailed April 23, arrived at New York on July 9, left Boston on Feb. 17, 1848, touched at the island of Jersey on March 15 and reached London on March 28.

The *New York Evening Post* of July 12, 1847 said that the Keying was originally built as a war vessel and that "she was an excellent sea boat of about 700 tons, being 150 feet long, 25 feet beam and 12 feet hold." She was built of teak wood, had three masts with lateen sails and was painted white striped with black, with an eye painted on either side of her bow and a spread eagle on her stern. She cost $75,000.

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[9]Nov. 20.

# Adam and Eve at Providence

*Extract from the diary of Lucius C. Boynton*[1]

*Communicated by* SOLON J. BUCK, PH.D.

November 20, [1850]. Yesterday I went on an Excursion to Providence, to see Pratt's picture of the garden of Eden, from Milton. A great crowd of persons were along. Mrs. Cole and Mr. Judson, Miss Day and a Miss Georgia Williams, who has been here at school, were of our company. It was a beautiful day, and with the crowd and the excitement and the good humor of the company, we had a charming trip.

The picture was much more beautiful than I expected. The landscape scenes were charming, and the trees and flowers were natural, and beautiful beyond description. Adam and Eve appeared in three places, in a state of perfect nudity, their skins white and fair as that of persons who wear clothing in our day.

Their appearance was a little stiff and unnatural. They did not seem to be in the enjoyment of that easy, quiet, charmed life, which one would expect such persons would lead, amidst so much beauty and magnificence. The botanical part was interesting, exhibiting some of the most beautiful plants of the Tropical regions[2].

[1]Lucien Cyrus Boynton was born in Vermont about 1810. He was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1838, after which he taught school for about two years in New Jersey and some four years in Virginia. He then returned to New England, where he read law, and in 1846 he was admitted to the bar in Woodstock, Vermont. After some vicissitudes, he settled down in Uxbridge, Mass., to practice, and he was living there at the time of his trip to Providence, recounted in the extract. Later he moved to Springfield, Illinois, where he died. His journal, a voluminous affair, runs from 1835 to 1853 and not only recounts his activities but also records his reactions to various problems, both theological and secular, and discloses a character of unusual interest.

[2]This diary is to be printed in *The American Antiquarian Society Proceedings.*

The following advertisement in regard to Pratt's picture appeared in the *Providence Journal* in November, 1850. :

SPLENDID WORK OF ART

Is now on exhibition at Franklin Hall, Pratt's great Botanical and Poetical Panorama of the Garden of Eden, as described in Milton's Paradise, an immense moving mirror of nature, presenting a vast range of gorgeous scenery, with the most remarkable and beautiful animals, birds, rare and splendid trees, fruits and flowers of every clime. Also, three groups of Adam and Eve, of the natural size, painted in oil colors and highly finished. Doors open every evening at 6½—commence moving at 7½ o'clock. Admittance 25 cents; children half price. There will be an exhibition every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. tf o22

## Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Prof. James B. Hedges Mr. Zenas H. Ellis
Eliot A. Shaw, M.D.

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*Rhode Island Banks During the Bank Holidays of March 1933*, compiled by the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company, is a volume of 64 pages with a frontispiece illustration of a "one dollar scrip".

*The American Genealogist* for October 1933 contains some English records relating to Thomas Olney and identifying his wife as Mary, daughter of James Ashton of St. Albans, Herts.

*Chester Willard Barrows*, a memorial address by James C. Collins, Esq. was issued as an illustrated booklet of 18 pages.

*Sergeant John Smith's Diary of 1776*, edited by Louise Rau, is a pamphlet of 21 pages reprinted from the Mississ-

ippi Valley Historical Review. Sergeant Smith was a resident of Bristol, R. I.

The *Evening Bulletin* of September 26, 1933 contained an account of Russell Warren, the architect, and his work.

*Our Earliest Colonial Settlements* by Charles M. Andrews contains a 25 page chapter on *Rhode Island, the Troubled Home of Soul Liberty.*

*The Correspondence of Esek Hopkins,* has just been published by the Rhode Island Historical Society from the original manuscripts in its library, as a volume of 101 pages with an introduction by William Davis Miller. It is a companion volume to the *Letter Book of Esek Hopkins* which was published by the Society in 1932.

## Book Review

*Salem in the Seventeenth Century*

by James Duncan Phillips, Riverside Press

The principal interest to Rhode Islanders in Mr. Phillips' excellent history of the social and economic life of Salem is the part dealing with the general history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and its heretics. Mr. Phillips, a "dyed in the wool" Massachusetts man, is a historian of the old school, after the manner of Palfrey or Ellis. The Massachusetts magistrates could do no wrong. He deals with Roger Williams, the Quakers, Dr. Child and Randolph at length and vigorously belabours all of them.

With regard to Williams, his stand is very simple. The Massachusetts Puritans came to establish their own form of government and so were perfectly justified in driving out all who differed from them. Roger Williams did differ from them, was a trouble maker and so he was exiled. Now there is no doubt but that Williams was a troublesome fellow and inclined to make mountains out of mole hills, and granting Mr. Phillips' premise, the Theocracy was per-

fectly justified. But Williams was one of the earliest founders of the Bay Colony (he came in 1631) and was certainly as much entitled to have a voice in the principles upon which the Colony was founded as anyone else. He was unhappily in the minority and, according to Mr. Phillips' view, had no right to express his opinions upon religious matters, which differed from those of the majority, not necessarily of the settlers, but of the magistrates. Let us grant this and admit that the majority of the magistrates could banish those who differed from them. Then certainly Massachusetts was not a free Colony nor did its rulers differ in any degree from Archbishop Laud. If Mr. Phillips' premise is sound then the Anglicans of the dominant party in the Church at home were fully justified in their stand regarding the Puritans. But this logical conclusion is one that Mr. Phillips is somewhat loath to admit. He cannot help feeling that Laud's conduct towards his beloved rulers of Massachusetts was not to be justified and savoured of tyranny.

Upon a broader basis, Williams was contending for the great principle, which the world has since recognized, that the civil authorities must not punish a man for his religious beliefs. The great principle of toleration is one that Mr. Phillips fails totally to comprehend. He is blind to the wide humanitarian views of Williams or to the singular kindliness of his spirit that enabled him to return, as in the Pequot War, good for evil, and enabled him to retain the personal friendship of his opponents, who have described him as a "man of a very lovely carriage." Upon a narrow view of the situation, Mr. Phillips may justify his stand but to the broader and more humane view of the situation he is strangely blind. As the *London Times* recently put it in its able review of Dr. Ernst's recent *Life of Williams*, perhaps the Massachusetts authorities were legally justified in his banishment but "along that way persecution lies." Mr. Phillips' statement covers only one side of the question; to the other aspects of the Williams episode he is strangely ignorant or intentionally silent.

With respect to the Quakers he has a better case. The Quakers were fanatics and disturbers of the public peace and the Bay magistrates were justified in restraining them; but the extreme harshness, extending to the death penalty, outran the offence. Certainly the picture of Endicott throwing his skull cap on the Council table and threatening to go back to England if he could not hang Quakers is not a pretty one, nor is that of Norton, tormenting the last moments of Mary Dyer, as she went to execution, an edifying one. Mr. Phillips wisely is silent regarding these little incidents in his defense of the Theocracy.

In his treatment of the Randolph controversy Mr. Phillips turns about face and rejoices in the resistance of the Puritans to the "oppression" of the Crown. The picture of the Theocracy in the role of the champion of liberty is a startling transformation. As a matter of fact it was Charles II, who curbed the insolence of the Bay magistrates and compelled them to show some sort of toleration and mercy. Randolph was no angel, he was a corrupt Restoration politician, but the manner in which he was treated, unwise and stupid to say the least, turned him into a bitter and vindictive enemy of Massachusetts and brought about the final overthrow of the Theocratic tyranny that had lorded it in the Bay Colony for over fifty years.

It is a well known fact that the rulers of Massachusetts by restricting the franchise to church members prevented the great body of people from making their views felt in their government and created anything but a free state. Mr. Phillips' excuse that probably the people did not care anything about the franchise is naïve and somewhat amusing. However, when all is said and done it is stimulating to find so one sided a defender of the Bay magistrates at this late date. Mr. Phillips has presented us with an able and ingenious piece of special pleading and has skillfully suppressed the other side of the question. It makes a fine argument but this is not history.

G. Andrews Moriarty.

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Mrs. W. E. Heathcote
Prof. James B. Hedges
Mr. Bernon E. Helme
Mr. John Henshaw

Mr. Joseph G. Henshaw
Mr. Robert W. Herrick
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# The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

*Transcribed by* THEODORE G. FOSTER

(*Continued from vol. XXVI, page 98*)

By Virtue of the above Precept the Proprietors whose Names are underwritten met and Chose . . . . . Capt. Benjamin Ellery Moderator And appointed Col Sylvester Richmond Zuriel Waterman and William Wanton a Committee to inspect the Plat[18] that Col Daniel Abbot presented and adjourned to July 3d at Eight in the Morning

July the 3d 1734 According to Adjournment the Proprietors underwritten met . . . . . Voted that Capt Thomas Harris have a piece of Land about Thirteen Acres adjoining on Nicholas Harris and Samuel Winsor it being in Line of Lawrince Springer

Half Share Head Lot not laid out to him said Springer on the Colony Line

[18] The original of this plat is in the office of the Town Clerk of Foster. There is a copy in the R. I. H. S. Library, R. I. Atlas XIII, pages 1-4.

The Committee then returned with the Plat and reported that there was little or no Difference between this and that of the First Division Second Division as to Quantity of Land

Voted that said Plat is received. which Plat bears Date July the Second 1734 and is called Col Abbots Second Plat

| | |
|---|---|
| Voted that Col. Abbots Acc$^{t}$ of £31 . . 0 . be allowed - - - - - - - - - - - - - - | £31 . . 10 |
| Voted that Capt. Thomas Harris Acc$^{t}$ of £10 . . 10 be allowed | 10 . . 10 |
| Voted that Thomas Parkers Acc$^{t}$ of £9 . . 6 . . be allowed - - - - - - - - - - - - - - | 9 . . 6 |
| Voted that Tho$^{s}$ Angell Acc$^{t}$ of £8 . . 14 be allowed | 8 . . 14 |
| Voted that Ishmall Spinks Ac$^{t}$ of £12 . . 0 be allowed | 12 |
| Voted that James Shertons Acc' be allowed | 6 |
| The Account brought from the other Side | £72 . . 6 |
| Voted that Joseph Knight Account be allowed . . . | 8 . . 9 |
| Voted that Zachariah Rhodes Acc' of Seventeen Pounds Ten Shillings be allowed deducting Six Pounds | 11 . . 10 |
| Voted that Major James Brown Acc' be allowed | 6 |
| Voted that Cap$^{t}$ Benj$^{a}$ Ellerys Acc' be allowed . . | 4 |
| Voted that Major Job Greenes Account be allowed for Service | 6 |
| Voted that Ishmall Spinks Acc' of Twenty one be allowed deducting Six Pounds Ten Shillings | 15 |
| | £123.5 |

Voted that Zuriel Waterman demand the original Agreement between Providence and Westquanaug and forthwith to put the same on Record in the Town Clerks office in

Providence and also to put it on Record in Scituate in the Town Clerks office and that said Waterman be allowed Twenty Shillings for his Trouble.

Voted that the Four Parcels of Land that appear to be undivided in Col$^{o.}$ Abbots Plat dated July 2$^{d}$ 1734 Quantity /viz/ 451 Acres 263 D$^{o.}$ 62 D$^{o.}$ 284 D$^{o.}$ to be sold forthwith to the highest bidder there

And that the Clerk of the Proprietors Major Greene give Deeds for the same taking Bonds in his own Name for the use of the Proprietors

Voted that William Wanton Jun$^{r}$ Sell the undivided Land above to the highest Bidder forthwith among the Proprietors and their Representatives now convened which accordingly was done and
Joseph Rhodes bought 263
Nicholas Carr bought 284 said Rhodes to give one Hundred and Three pounds and said Carr to give One Hundred and Ten pounds Major Job Greene bought 451 . for one Hundred and Sixty Nine pounds——Col$^{o}$ Sylvester Richmond 62 for Twenty Two pounds . . . . .

For as much as Major Job Greene has purchased 451. It is Voted that Capt Benjamin Ellery Give a Deed to said Greene of said Purchase taking a Bond in his own Name for the use of the Proprietors . . .

Voted that there be Two Plats drawn by Zuriel Waterman from Col$^{o.}$ Abbots Plat date July 2$^{d.}$ 1734 and one of them to be lodged at Newport and one in Providence and the Original in Scituate and all to be recorded in each Town Clerks office . . . . M$^{r}$ Zuriel Waterman to see the original Recorded in Scituate That at Newport by Benjamin Ellery and That at Providence by said Waterman and the whole to be paid by the Clerk of the Proprietors as soon as he shall receive the Money for the undivided Land sold to Joseph Rhodes Nicholas Carr Major Job Greene Col$^{o}$ Sylvester Richmond

| Dr The Proprietors of Westquanaug . . . | | Contra Credit | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Sundry Accounts | £123 . 5 . | By Lands Sold Joseph Rhodes | £103.0 |
| To Zuriel Waterman | 1 . . 0 | By Dº to Nich. Carr . . | 110.0 |
| To Zuriel Waterman for Platts | 5 . . | By Dº Major Job Green | 169. |
| To Deeds at | 16 | By Dº Colº Richmond . | 22 |
| | 130 . . 1 | | £404 |
| Due to the Proprietors | 273 . . 19 | | |
| | £404 . . 0 | | |

Voted that Zuriel Waterman be paid by the Clerk Five pounds for the Drawing and Compleating the Two Plats

Voted that the Clerk pay to all whole Share man in proportionable part of the Money which the undivided Land sold for as soon as the Money comes into his Hands others in in Proportion

Voted that there be a Book bought at the Charge of the Proprietors to transcribe these Records as the Clerk shall think proper

Voted that what has passed shall be binding to all the Proprietors their Heirs and Assigns forever

Voted that the former Committee be still a Committee till further orders also the clerk

Voted that this Meeting be dissolved and it is hereby

pr Order Job Greene Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Jeremish Angell Esq in Scituate on the First Monday in April which is on the Second Day of said Month A D 1770

Thomas Hill Moderator

Whereas at a Meeting of the above said Proprietors held at the House of Mr. Peter Cooke in Scituate on the First Tuesday of November last it was votd and orderd that the Clerk should make a New Book and transcribe in the Original Records of the Westquanaug Purchase - - - They being of long Standing and some what worne

——Therefor the Clerk according to order hath transcribed the same and they being read and examined at the aforesaid Meeting on the Second Day of April A D 1770 and found to be a true Transcript of the Original Records of the aforesaid Purchase

Therefore Voted that the aforesaid Transcript Records is Received and accepted of by the aforesaid Proprietors to be valid and of equal force with the original. - And this is the same transcribed Book as aforesaid

Test Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

The above preceeding Eleven Pages contain a true Copy from M[r] Thomas Browns Transcript of the Records of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase as certified by him . . . . Copied by Me into this Book Since Saturday Morning Last when I began this Copy and finished it on Monday Afternoon November 8[th] A D 1813 . . Mr Fleet Brown Son of the above namd Thomas Brown who is now the Clerk of the Proprietors Lent the said Records to Me . . . . . Said Fleet Brown being Grandson of Major James Brown Who was appointed one of the New Committee July 14[th] 1715 . . . Mr Fleet Brown informs that his Grand Father married Three Times to Judith Fleet to Katherine Greene and [19]

Mr Fleet Brown passed a considerable part of this afternoon with Me, at my House, in Foster . . . being present when Mr James Durfey called and informed of the Death of Mr Amos Hammond in the 78[th] Year of his Age one of my Neighbours who died yesterday a worthy Industrious Man . . . This is Written a Little before the Setting of the Sun Monday Afternoon November 8[th] 1813

pr Theodore Foster . . . . .

At a Meeting of the Proprietors and Owners of the Lands in the Westquanaug Purchase so called at the House

[19] The third name was left out by Mr. Foster.

of Peter Cooke Innholder in Scituate within said Purchase on the 24th Day of October A D 1768 . . By Virtue of a Warrant at the Request of Sundry of the Proprietors of the Purchase aforesaid Signed by Thomas Hill of Scituate abovesaid Esq . . said Warrant is Dated Octo. 4. 1768

Thomas Hill Chosen Moderator of this Meeting

Thomas Brown chosen Proprietors Clerk and engaged

Voted that the Clerk keep the Original Records of said Proprietors and is hereby empowered to give authenticate copies thereof under his Hand

Voted that the Clerk give Notes in the Providence Gazette[20] Three Weeks before the First Monday in April next. . . That the Proprietors choose a Committee & Surveyor for said Purchase and to transact any other necessary Matters relative to said Purchase

Voted that the aforesaid Meeting be adjourned to the First Monday in April next at the House of Jeremiah Angell Esq in said Scituate at Ten oClock on said Day

Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the Hous of Jeremiah Angell Esq on the First Monday of April A D 1769

Thomas Hill chosen Moderator

Voted that Capt Andrew Angell be a Surveyor for said Purchase

Voted that Capt Christopher Relp Thomas Hill Esq and Mr Peter Cook be a committee for said Purchase

Voted that the original Warrant for having a Proprietors Meeting be put upon Record in the Proprietors Clerks Office

Voted by this Meeting that as the original Plat of the Westquanaug Purchase was not accepted by the original Proprietors to allow any of the Original Bounds made by the Surveyors and Committee of said Purchase—— But

[20]This advertisement appeared in the *Providence Gazette* of March 11, 18, and 25, 1769.

the true intent and Meaning of the Original Plat was and is to establish the Original Bounds made in said Purchase . . . . .

Voted that this Meeting do and has acepted of the Plat aforesaid in the Manner and Form above described

Test Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

Voted that the original Plat be requested out of the Possession of Gidion Harris Esq and delivered to Capt Thomas Relph and Mr Peter Cooke who are chosen a Committee to receive the same and deliver in to Thomas Brown Clerk of Said Purchase

By a Vote of this Meeting the said Meeting adjourned to the First Tuesday in Nov: next at the Hous of Mr Peter Cook Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase at Twelve °Clock in said Day

Test Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

L. S. Whereas a Request hath been made to Me the Subscriber by William Rhodes Benjamin Wright Thomas Relph Robert Potter James Thornton and Sundry others of the Proprietors and owners of the Westquanaug Purchase (so called) that a Warrant be issued to Notify the Proprietors and Owners of said Purchase to meet together at the Dwelling House of Mr Peter Cook Innholder at Ten °Clock in the Forenoon of Said Day:

Providence to wit To the Town Serjeant or others of the Constables in the Town of Scituate in the County of Providence . . . .

Greeting

You are hereby in his Majestys Name George the Third King of Great Britain &c required to warn and give timely Notice to all the Proprietors and owners of the Westquanaug Purchase (so called) That they meet at the

Dwelling House of Mr Peter Cook Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase abovesaid on Monday this Twenty fourth Day of this Instant October at Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon in said Day then and there to make Choice of a Clerk for the Proprietors and Owners of the Purchase of abovesaid and also to take into Consideration the Dispute and Disagreement there is between the Bounds of the Lots and the Plat of the Purchase abovesaid and like wise to act and transact such other Business as shall be by them thought needful Hereof fail not but true Return make with your Doings there or given at the time & place abovesaid Given under my Hand & Seal at Scituate aforesaid the Fourth Day of October in the Eighth Year of the Said Majestys Reign A D 1768

Thomas Hill Justice of the Peace

Pursuant to the above Warrant I have give timely Notice to the above Proprietors as Witness my Hand this 24th Day of October A D 1768

pr Josiah Herrinton Constable

Officer Fees [illegible] at Seven Shillings
May the 24th 1769 The above and foregoing Warrant is a true copy of the Original

Test Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by adjournment at the House of Peter Cook Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase on the First Tuesday of November A D 1769 . .

Thomas Hill Moderator

Charles Harris Esq is chosen Surveyor in said Purchase in the Room of Capt Andrew Angell who refused and also the former Committee are continued

Voted that the Clerk transcribe the original Records in said Purchase in a Book suitable for the same which he is to deliver to the next Proprietors Meeting for their Approbation . .

This Meeting is adjournd to Jeremiah Angells Esq in Scituate on the First Monday in April next at 12 °Clock in said Day

per Order Thomas Brown Proprietors clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by adjournment at the House of Jeremiah Angell Esq in Scituate on the First Monday in April on the Second Day of said Month A D 1770.

Thomas Hill Moderator

Whereas at a Meeting of said Proprietors held at the House of Peter Cooke in Scituate on the First Tuesday in November it was votd and orderd that the Clerk should make a New Book and transcribe the original Records of the Westquanaug Purchase they being of a long Standing and Some worn therefore the Clerk according to order hath transcribed the same and they being read and examined at the above said Meeting on the Second Day of April A D 1770 are found to be a true Transcript of the original Records of said Purchase Therefore Voted that the aforesaid Transcribed Record is received and accepted by the aforesaid Proprietors to be valid and of equal Form with the Original

Voted that Mr William West and Thomas Hill Esq or either of them be a Committee to enquire after the Thirteen Papers mentiond in the Original Records of said Purchase and receive the same and deliver them to the Proprietors of the aforesaid Purchase———————

This Meeting is adjourned to the First Monday in October next which is on the First Day of said Month at 10 °Clock in the Forenoon in said Day at the House of Capt Peter Cook in Scituate in said Purchase

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

*Just issued, 1933*

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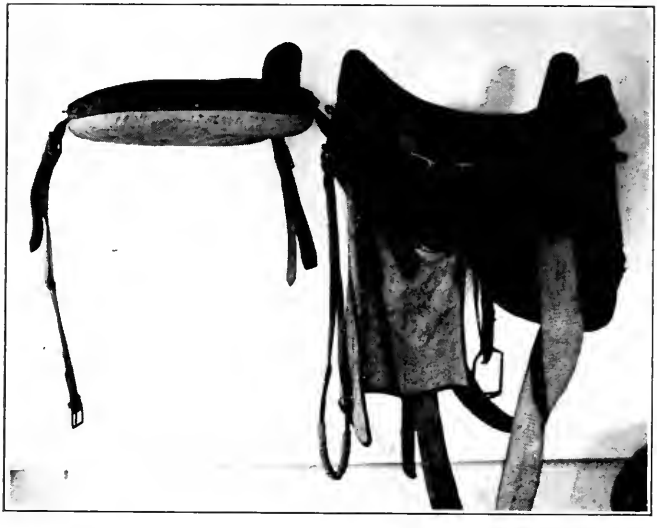
Vol. XXVII APRIL, 1934 No. 2



SADDLE AND PILLION ON WHICH LAFAYETTE RODE IN COMPANY WITH MISS ABIGAIL HAZARD WHEN ON A VISIT TO THE HOME OF HER FAMILY IN THE SOUTH COUNTY.

*Now in the Society's Museum.*

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXVII APRIL, 1934 No. 2

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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# Fox Hunting in Colonial Rhode Island

*By* William Davis Miller

In a paper recently read before the American Antiquarian Society,[1] I considered at some length the lack of historical evidence in support of the tradition that the fox was hunted with "hound and horn" in the Narragansett Country and upon the island of Rhode Island in Colonial days. Since then, the tradition having again been presented as a fact,[2] it seems proper that reasons against the acceptance of this legend as a fact should once more be recited.

In the Narragansett Country this legend is based wholly upon tradition, and a careful survey of contemporary records, diaries and letters produce not the slightest indication that fox hunting in the approved British manner was ever

[1] At the meeting held in Boston in April, 1933.

[2] *Newport, the Cradle of American Sports*, a paper read by Maud Howe Elliott, printed in the Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society, October, 1933.

enjoyed by the Planters of that district. There are but few references to dogs in the inventories, and not a word of such a valuable asset as a pack is mentioned in any document. There is, furthermore, not a single mention of an organized hunt, nor of a hunt in any form, in letters or in diaries of the period. That the fox was hunted is not to be questioned, for the depredations made upon the barnyard fowls of the landholders could not have been allowed to pass without reprisals, but such hunting would appear to have been carried on in the modern South County method with dog and gun.

The present belief that fox hunting as a sport was a pastime of the Narragansett Planters may have had its origin in two known references accepted without due examination or consideration, and from which it might appear that the hunt was enjoyed on the island of Rhode Island. Dean Berkeley, later to be Bishop of Cloyne, came to the island in the year 1728. There at his house Whitehall, he wrote a series of philosophical dialogues which he entitled *Alciphron*; or *The Minute Philosopher*. In the opening portion of the *Fifth Dialogue*[3] occur these sentences upon which the fox hunting legend is mainly based: "But we had hardly seated ourselves and looked about us when we saw a fox by the foot of our mount run into an adjecent thicket. A few minutes after, we heard a confused noise of the opening of hounds, and winding of horns, and the roaring of country squires." As the description of "our mount" given by Berkeley and the view to be seen from its place is without question Honeyman's Hill, it is understandable to suppose that a hunt was actually in progress in the immediate vicinity. Unfortunately for those who would desire to produce this as evidence of their contention that this was what Berkeley himself saw, a further and careful examination of *Alciphron*

[3] *The Works of George Berkeley*, etc., Alexander Campbell Fraser, Oxford, 1901, vol. II, p. 194. Recently this reference to fox hunting was quoted as from a letter from Berkeley to a friend. If this was true it would have turned the tables, but as it is, it is a serious error.

discloses the fact that while Berkeley made use of the lovely scenery adjacent to Whitehall as the setting for the philosophical meditations of Crito and his friends, their conservation and mental attitude show clearly that they considered themselves in England and not a great distance from London and further that their actions and the actions of those about them were those of Englishmen at home.[4] Unfortunately, apparently to substantiate this mistaken belief that the hunt actually occurred near Newport, a belief which Fraser himself would seem to have shared, a footnote is appended to this colorful account stating: "This spirited picture of a fox chase is characteristic of Rhode Island when Berkeley lived there. See my *Life and Letters of Berkeley* (1871), p. 159."[5] On examination the passage referred to in this note discloses simply these words: "And the fox chase, with hounds and horns, as well as fishing and fowling, were favorite sports in Narragansett." Fraser, from his own account, apparently secured his description of the countryside and life in Narragansett and the island of Rhode Island by correspondence, and his informant in Narragansett was one who upheld the fox hunting legend simply by statement and not with proof.

There is, however, further evidence to be examined. A later account of life in Newport, during the Revolutionary period, contains, mainly because of erroneous juxtaposition in the text, added fuel to the fire which, fortunately, can be effectively extinguished. In the second volume of *France and New England*,[6] the memoirs or journal of Louis, Baron de Closen, or Von Closen, one of Rochambeau's aides and a Captain in the Royal Deux Ponts regiment, is quoted with reference to his impressions while in Newport. Among other

[4]This conclusion is upheld by Canon Luce of Trinity College, Dublin, a recent visitor to Rhode Island in connection with his studies relative to Bishop Berkeley.

[5]Further, and similar, mention is made on p. 169.

[6]Allen Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, State Street Trust Co., Boston, 1927, p. 45.

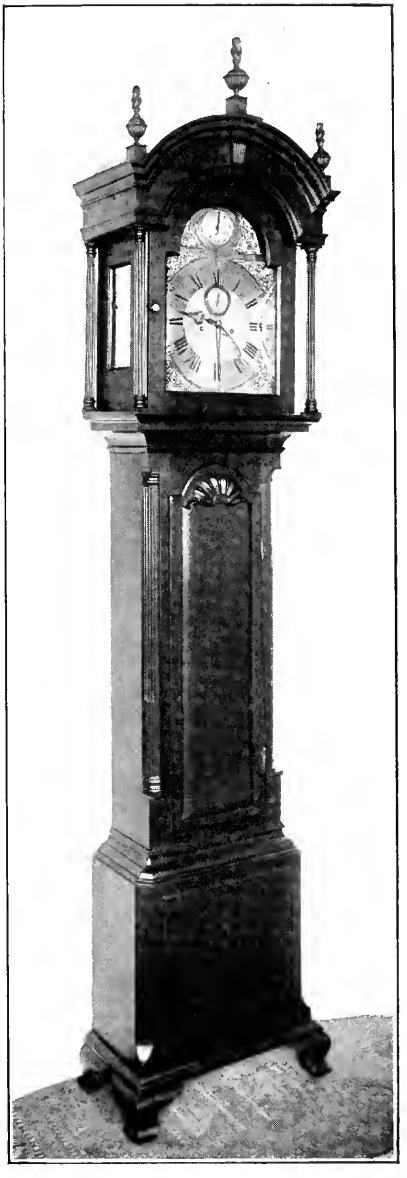
excerpts from the journal with reference to the beauty of the ladies, and the customs of the residents is found the following: "through the woods, accompanied by twenty horsemen. We have forced more than thirty foxes; the packs of hounds owned by these sportsmen are perfect."

From the context it is quite natural to believe that de Closen was referring to his visit in Newport and the numerous pleasures he enjoyed, but because of a strong conviction that the chase was not a sport near Newport, a suspicion arose that this reference was from a different portion of his journal, which led to the request that an examination be made of the manuscript copy in the Library of Congress.[7] Through the courtesy of J. F. Jameson, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, this was done and it was found that, while the sentences quoted in *France and New England* were accurately translated, the quotation, had it been continued two sentences further, would have thrown an entirely different light on the question. After a long sentence with reference to the type of fox and its seeming lack of stamina, the next sentence begins: "Les environs de Williamsburg favorisent bien cette manière de chasser . . . " So that it was not in the neighborhood of Newport, but of Williamsburg, Virginia, where fox hunting had long been enjoyed, that Rochambeau and his aide followed the hounds[8] and found the packs perfect though the fox was weak.

Therefore, until a contemporary diary, letter or record comes to light and in which definite mention is made of the sport in the Colony of Rhode Island, the pleasing tradition of a pastime of the Squires of Newport and the Planters of Narragansett must reluctantly be believed a myth. This

[7]This manuscript copy was made by Worthington C. Ford, Esqr., but unfortunately, due to the restrictions imposed by the owners of the original, it cannot be published. The quotation under discussion appears on page 29 of the second volume of the manuscript in the Library of Congress.

[8]J. J. Jusserand, in his *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, p. 99, also refers to de Closen's mention of the fox hunt and he also omits the reference to Williamsburg.



GODDARD CLOCK

*Bequeathed to the Society by C. Prescott Knight.*

reluctance was recently expressed by an antiquarian, a New Englander living in Virginia, when after careful research being unable to prove what he wished, he wrote: "They must have used guns after all!"

# The Dee River of 1583

## (*Now called Narragansett Bay*)

## and Its Relation to Norumbega

*By* William B. Goodwin

In a paper read before the December 12, 1933, meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society entitled "The Truth Concerning Norumbega" as to both its meaning and its actual location, a part of the proof as to where the river, the cape, the country and the Indian trading town were all actually located is taken from a document preserved in the British Record Office, excerpts from which follow hereafter. This document is a grant by indenture from Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Sir George Peckham and his son, George Peckham, dated the last day of February 1583, and acknowledged before Queen Elizabeth, March 1, of the same year and enrolled July 1st.

There is a still further agreement[1] between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham, excerpts from which follow. In these two documents there is a definite description of land, of a river, of islands within that river, and a section of land amounting to fifteen hundred thousand acres, lying next west to the five islands within the bay and river along the sea coast.

[1]Through the courtesy of Mr. Goodwin, a copy of this document is on file in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Inasmuch as there has been no attempt to properly locate the River of Norumbega—although there have been some writers who have suggested that the Cape of Norumbega is no other than Cape Cod—the casual reader of these two documents had no means of knowing where this distinct allotment of land to Sir George Peckham, his son George and to Sir Thomas Gerrard actually lay along our sea coast. However, all the information that Sir Humphrey and his fellow adventurers or in fact anybody in England knew in the year 1583 concerning our coast between Cape Breton and Spanish Florida, was obtained for them at the behest of Queen Elizabeth and at her expense through Dr. John Dee who went to Europe for that purpose, travelling extensively, and who also was to himself receive a very broad grant above a certain parallel of latitude in payment for his services.

In these documents there are references which give us the key as to where this land actually was to be set off to the backers of Sir Humphrey Gilbert for their money in advance to fit out his expeditions, for it distinctly speaks of the John Dee Bay and River with five islands in it. John Dee made two maps—one of them for Queen Elizabeth, and one of them for Sir Humphrey Gilbert—and his map of North America does not contain on it any reference to the John Dee Bay and River, nor to the five islands, but the scribe who wrote this indenture between Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his backers shows that Sir Humphrey grants—"all that ryver or porte called, by Master John Dee, Dee Ryver which Ryver by the discripcon of John Verarzanus, a Florentyne, lyeth in Septontrionall latitude about fortye twoo degrees and has his mouth lyinge open to the south halfe a league broade . . . conteyneth in it selfe five small Islandes newlie named the Cinque Isles."

By means of this description we know that Narragansett Bay containing its five islands is intended, for we know that Verrazano described but two rivers in all his journey from South Carolina to Labrador—the one the Hudson and the

other the Bay of Refuge, where he had refitted his ships and made friends with the natives and which Bay of Refuge lay a little to the North and East of the triangular island of Louisa or Claudia, named for the Queen Mother and Queen of Francis I of France, Verrazano's patron.

In addition, moreover, we have another proof that the John Dee Bay and River is actually Narragansett Bay because the articles of indenture go on to grant, in addition to the river and bay, "Fyftene hundred thousande acres of ground extende next alongst the sea coaste Westwarde towardes the ryver of Norumbeage".

The description of this amount of land from Point Judith carries us 60 miles along the coast and 38 miles inland and is equal to 2356 square miles and would extend about 16 miles west of the Connecticut River, namely to the present Guilford Harbor. This is the first grant of land in North America.

Immediately following these indentures, Sir Humphrey sailed from England and in due course reached St. John's, Newfoundland, and there started to found a colony among the fishing vessels, twenty-six of which were in the harbor when he arrived.

In the end, after a turbulent stay, Sir Humphrey put to sea and lost still another ship, making his way towards the John Dee Bay and River, and the Cape and the River of Norumbega, which had been described by Verrazano. Eight days out of St. John's he lost another ship and he turned back with two remaining vessels. Sir Humphrey in the little "Squirrel", but eight tons, went down, off within striking distance of the Azores, and the "Golden Hind", the last of a fine fleet, struggled home to tell the story of misadventure and defeat. So thus the great intended settlement of part of what is now Rhode Island and Connecticut, granted with definite bounds, never came to consummation.

# The Deed of 1583

WRITING BETWEEN GILBERT KNT. & PECKHAM KNT.

Articles Indented of agreemente made concluded and agreed upon the laste days of Februarie in the fyve and twentieth yere of the raigne of oure soveraigne ladye Elizabethe by the grace of god Queene of Englande Fraunce and Irelande defendor of the faithe &c. Betwene Syr Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in the Countie of Devon knighte on the one partie and Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countie of Bucks knighte and George Peckham his second sonne on the other partie as followeth viz.

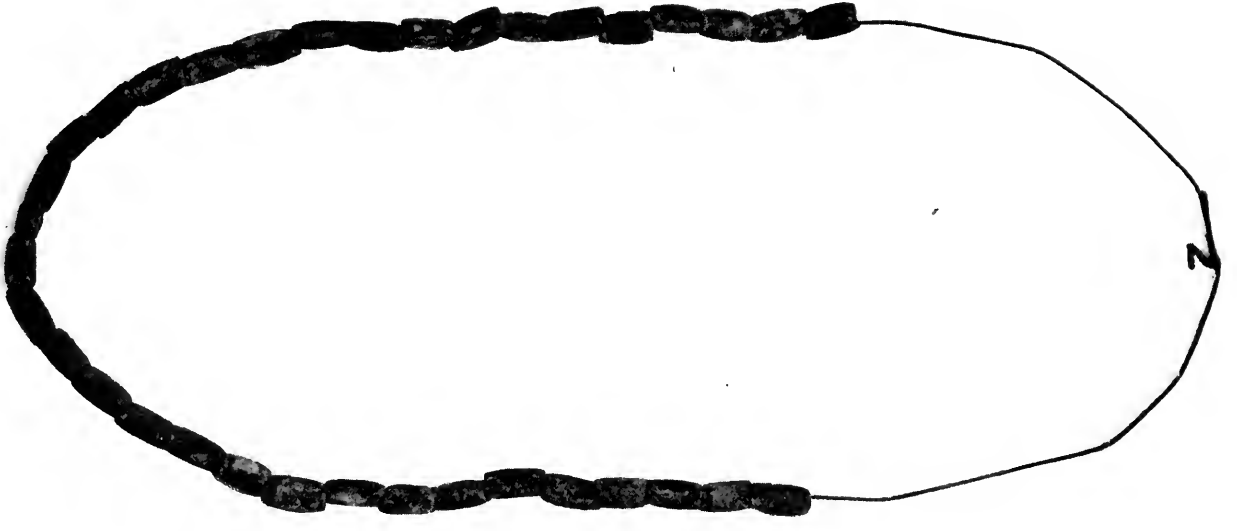
Imprimis Whereas oure saide Soveraigne ladye the Queenes majestie by her graces lettres Patents under the greate seale of England bearing date at Westminster the eleventh daye of June in the twentieth yere of her majesties raigne hath geven and granted unto the said Syr Humfrey Gilberte his heires and assignes for ever free libertye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter forever to discover searche finde owte and vewe such remote heathen and barborous landes countries and territories not actuallie possessed of any Christian Prince or people as to him his heires or assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good and the same to have holde occupie and enjoye to him and his heires forever with all commodities Jurisdicions and rialties both by sea and lande and did likwise by the said lettres patents for her majestie her heires and Successors geve full power and authoritie to the saide Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall or maye at every time and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the said voyage to travel thitherwardes or to inhabit there with him or them and every or any of them suche and so many of her majestyes subjectes as shall willinglie accompanye him and them and every or any of them with sufficiente shippinge and furniture for

their transportacions so that none of the saide persons or any of them be suche as after the makinge of the said lettres patents shoulde be speciallie restrayned by our saide sovereaigne her heires or successors the statutes or actes of Parliamente made againste fugitives or against such as shall departe remaine or contynue oute of her majesties realme of Englande withoute licence or any other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrarie in anywise notwithstandinge as by the saide lettres patentes amongeste other grauntes articles and libertyes therein conteyned more at large appeareth. Nowe the saide Sir Humfrey Gilberte as well for the more spedye execucion of her majesties saide grauntes and then largmente of her majesties Domynions and govermente and also for the better encouragemente of the saide Sir George Peckham and George hys sonne and their associates in so worthie and comendable an enterprise as also for his and their sure warrante to prosecute the same orderlie accordinge to the lawes and statutes of this realme. And in consideracon that the saide Sir George hath disbursed diverse sommes of money and adventured the same as a principall adventurer with the saide Sir Humfrey as also for divers other weightie and good consideracions him the saide Sir Humfrey speciallie movinge for hym his heires executors administrators and assignes and every of them doth covenante premise and graunte to and with the saide George Peckham knighte and George hys sonne their heires executors administrators and assignes by theis presentes that the said Sir George Peckham and George his sonne his and their assignes and associates adventurers and people and every of them shall and may at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoy full power and free libertie and authoritie by vertue of the saide lettres patentes to discover searche fynde oute and vewe any landes Countries or Islandes heretofore not discovered searched and inhabited by any Christian Prince or people by the assignemente of the saide Sir Humfrye his heires and successors and allso to enjoye to his and their owne use all

that ryver or porte called, by Master John Dee, Dee Ryver which Ryver by the discripcion of John Verarzanus a Florentyne lyeth in Septontrionall latitude about fortye twoo degrees and has his mouth lyinge open to the South halfe a league brode or there aboute and enteringe Within the saide Baye betweene the Easte and the Northe encreaseth his breadith and contynueth twelve leagues or there abouts and then maketh a gulfe of twentie leagues compasse or thereabouts and conteyneth in it selfe five small Islandes newlie named the Cinque Isles. And the saide gulfe and the fyve Isles therein and all other Isles lyinge within the saide Ryver or gulfe together with fyfteene hundred thousande acres or grounde within the supposed contynent lyinge nexte adjoininge upon the saide ryver gulfe and fyve Isles at the choyce of the saide Sir George and George his yongeste sonne their heires deputies or assignes or any of them. To have holde and enjoye the saide Isle and Islande together with the saide fyfteene hundred thousande acres of landes. [blank to end of line]
to the saide Sir George Peckham and George Peckham their heires and assignes to hys and their onlie uses forever by Soccage tenure of the same Sir Humfrye his heyres and assignes so as the uttermoste parts or lymytts of the saide Fyftene hundred thousande acres of grounde extende next alongst the sea coaste Westwarde towardes the ryver of Norumbeage* above threescore englishe myles in length at the moste with full powre and aucthoritie to inhabite people and manure the said Islandes landes countries and territories with all Jurisdiccions priviledges liberties and royallties both by lande and by sea alongest all the costes of the saide countries and territories as is aforesaid yeldinge and payinge unto the saide Sir Humfrye his heires succes-

*In Norumbeage, the "u" is written "v," as is common through the document. It is followed by four minims, instead of three, and these could read "un" or "im," though none are dotted. It is, however, probably an error on the part of the scribe.

sors or assignes for every thousande acres of grounde of the saide fiftene hundred thousande acres of grounde after the firste seaven yeres proporcianallie which the same shalbe actuallie possessed and manured by the said Sir George Peckham or George his sonne their heires or assignes five shillinges and twoo fyfte partes of all the golde silver pearle and precious stones there growinge founde had and gotten oute of the which twoo fyfte partes the Queenes majesties parte reserved by the lettres patentes ys to be allowed and deduced. Item that they the saide Sir George nor George his sonne their heires nor assignes shalbe charged with any contribucion towards any Warres other then defencis and that onlie by acte of Parliamente of whiche assemblie the saide Sir George and all those which shall beare the name of an Associate with hym shalbe as principall members in every suche Sessions and assemblie. Item the saide Sir Humfrye for the consideracions aforesaide doth covenante and graunte for him selfe his heires successors and assignes and every of them to and with the saide Sir George Peckham and George his sonne their heires and assignes and every of them by theis presentes that he the saide Sir George and George his sonne their heires assignes and people and every of them shall and maye have and enjoye free liberties to trade and traffique into all suche Countries Islandes Isles and territories and into every and any parte of them which the saide Sir Humfrye his heires successors or assignes shall possesse by vertue of the Queene majesties saide lettres patents and his graunte thereof and also that he the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heires and assignes and every of them shall have thexecucion of all lawes Ecclesiasticall temporall politique marshall and Civill both marine and others and every of them aswell within the precincte of the said fyfteene hundred thousande acres of grounde as also uppon the sea coste thereof so farr as the saide landes shall extende it selfe as aforesaide Item the saide Sir Humfrye Gilberte for him his heires successors and assignes doth covenante from tyme to tyme upon



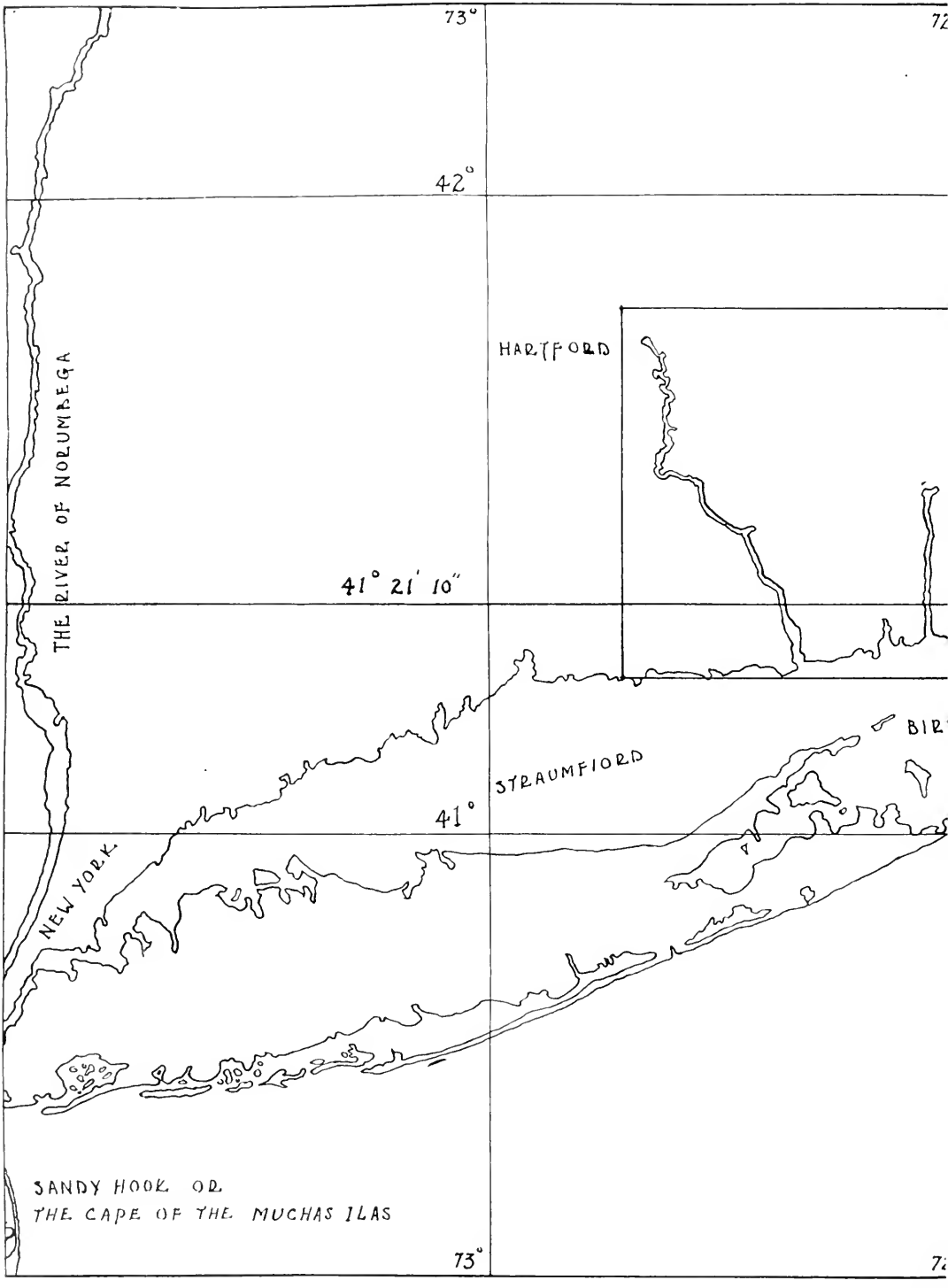
*In the Society's Museum*

STRING OF COPPER BEADS MADE IN IMITATION OF WAMPUM BEADS

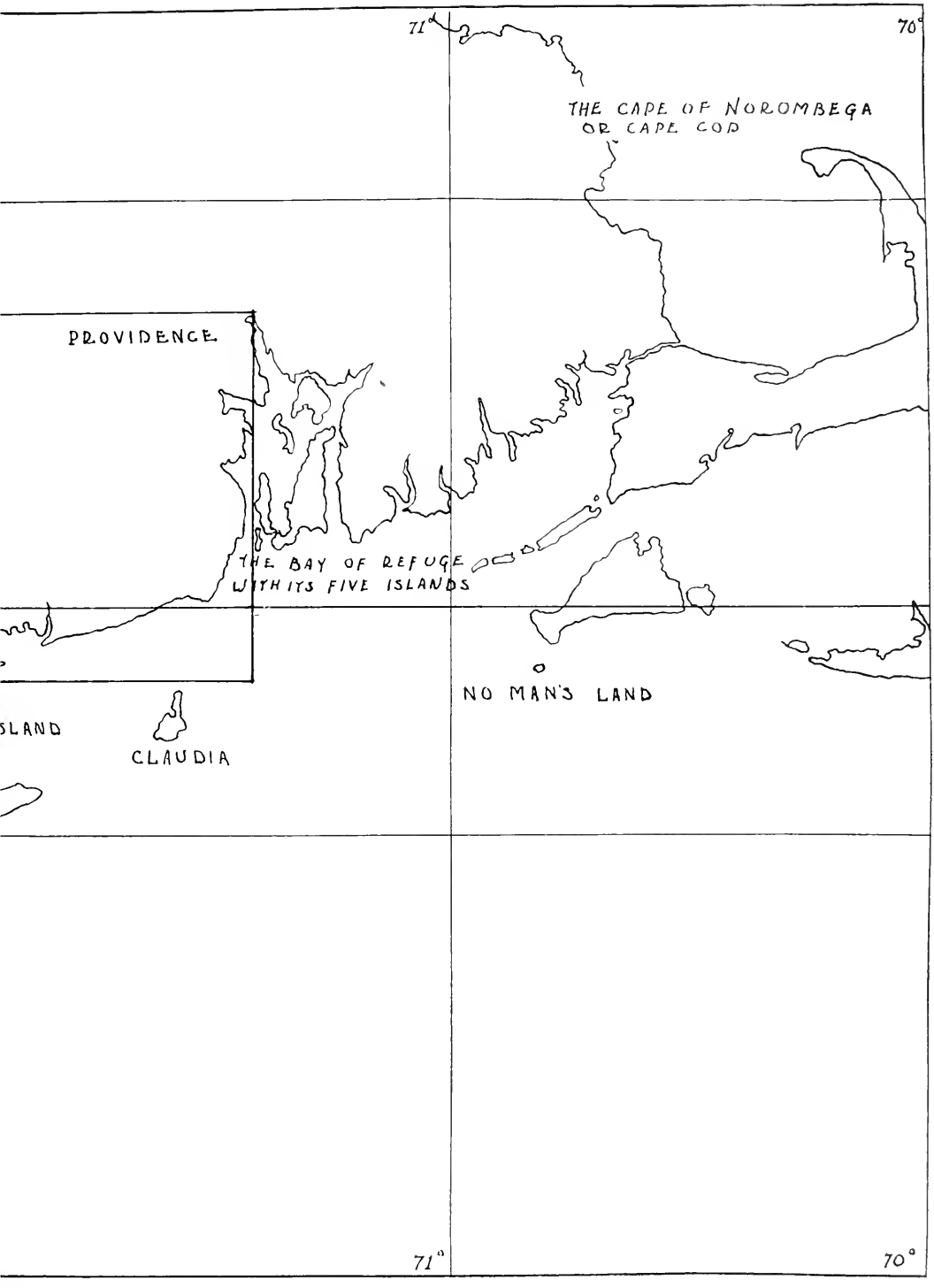
(*Unearthed in an Indian Grave at Burr Hill, Warren, R. I.*)

performance of the covenantes in this booke conteyned to exonerate discharge and sufficientlie to save harmeles the saide Sir George and George his sonne theire heires and assignes and everie of them of and from the Quenes majestie her heyres successors and assignes for and concernynge the payment of the Ewer of golde and silver and other duties services and demaundes to her majestie her heires and successors by the saide lettres patents payeble and reserved and likewise shall and will fynishe suche further and better assuraunce and assuraunce of the premysses unto the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heyres and assignes forever. Within three monethes nexte after the firste and nexte retorne of the saide Sir Humfrye or hys assignes consortes adventurers or associates from the saide voyage of discoverye by the saide Sir Humfrye nowe intended in suche manner and sorte as by the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heyres or assignes or any of them or the learned counsell of them or any of them shalbe reasonablie and lawfullye devised and required And the same Sir George and George hys sonne for them selfs their heires and assignes and every of them doe covenant premyse and graunt to and with the saide Sir Humfrey his heires successors and assignes and every of them by theise presents that they the said Sir George and George hys sonne shall doe their best indevor to procure and obteyne her majesties leave and good lykeinge that all those whoe have or shall adventure with the saide Sir Humfrye Sir George or George hys sonne or eyther of them into the saide Countries and whose names shalbe entered into a register booke for that purpose to be made and kepte and shalbe Willinge to travaile into anye of the saide remote Countries maye freelye passe into those Countries there to remayne or to retorne, backe at hys or their, or any of their Will and Pleasure. And the said Sir George Peckham and George hys sonne doe further covenant and graunte for them selves their heires executors and assignes to and with the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert hys heyres successors and assignes by

theis presents that he nor they nor any of them their heires or assignes shall deferre thexecucon of Justice within their liberties beinge thereunto required by the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or assignes against any suche as shall conspire against the person of the saide Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors or principall assignee or commytt any capitall offence or shall deteyne or protecte from Justice any person hys landes or goodes contrarie to the lawes to be established in the before mencioned remote countries and territories nowe ment to be discovered Which the saide Sir Humfrye Gilbert hys heyres successors or assignes shall have holde occupie or enjoye by right or tytle under or by vertue of the Quenes majesties lettres patents to hym graunted as before is mencioned provided allwaies and nevertheles yt is concluded condiscended and agreed by and betwene the saide proties that yf the saide Sir George or George hys sonne their heyres or assignes shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter Willinglye Wittinglye and maliciouslye pretend doe or goe about to doe or willinglye suffer to be done any manner of acte thinge or things Whatsoever tendinge to the distruccion or subvercion of the said Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors or chief assigne or principall governor or doe or willinglye commytt any acte Whereby the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or assignes shall lose the benefitt of the graunt of the said lettres patents or he or hys heyres successors or assignes to be by the Quenes Majestie or her or her successors dissavowed forever or yf he or they doe publiquelye or notoriouslye maynteyne any suche person or persones as shall publiquely or openlye goe about to distroye or overthrowe the right tytle or person of the said Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or hys chief and principall assigne in princypall governement or the subversion of the common wealth of the said Sir Humfrey hys heyres or successors their Countreys or Terrytoryes that then and from thensfourth this present graunte and all covenants therein conteyned to be come voide and of none effecte to all entents and purposes as yf




MAP SHOWING TRACT OF LAND




NTIONED IN DEED OF 1583

the same hadd never ben had nor made any thinge in these presents conteyned to the contrarye hereof in any wise notwithstandinge

In wittnes whereof the parties abovesaid to theise present articles Indented Interchaungablie have hereunto putt their hands and seals yeoven the daye and yere first above written

|At the foot in Latin| And know ye that the first day of March the year abovesaid the said Humfrey Gylberte, knight, came before the said Lady the Queen in her chancery and acknowledged the writing aforesaid and all and singular in the same contained and specified in form abovesaid.

Enrolled the first day of July the year abovesaid.

(Close Roll 1154)

## Counterfeiting in Colonial Days

*Communicated by* Edward H. West

### The Examination of Nicholas Camp of Rehoboth taken at Newport 14 August 1723.

Being at John Butterworths house in Rehoboth on or about two yeras Past & Said Butterworths wife Lett me have one three Pound bill which was a counterfitt bill of ye Provence of the Massochusets Bay She Showed me the bill when it was about halfe made & She told me She would Give me one ten Pound for five Pounds if I would take Such bills & Pass them which was the Cause of my Being Concerned in the uttering or Passing of a considerable Sum of Counterfitt Bills which I had of Said Butterworths Wife which three Pound Bill my wife passed to James Dexter at Providence & I never heard of itt Since butt according to

our agreement I Returned thirty Shillings in good bills afterward in Lue of the three Pound bill the Second bill I Received of Sd Butterworths wife was a five Pound Counterfitt bill of the Collony of Rhoad Island I Received itt about a month after I Received Said three Pound Bill & I gott one John Stevens to pass the five Pound bill unto William Turpin of Providence & he gave him in Lue thereof two forty Shilling bills & Some Small bills & I Returned in Lue thereof unto Sd Butterworths wife fifty Shillings or thereabouts but Said Stevens Did not know that itt was a bad bill for I told him I owed Some money to Sd Turpin and could not well Pay him that therefore would Desire him to change itt, I passed away at John Hawses an other five Pound bill to a Providence man & another five Pound bill to Thomas Rolton and had a three Pound bill & a ten Shilling and Some oather Small bills in Change and the two Last bills was of the Collony of Rhoad Island and I received them of John Butterworths wife and Gave one halfe the Sume when Changed according to our agreement unto her the Said Butterworths wife I having some Discous with Sd Butterworths wife I asked her how She Made the bills which She Gave me She told me She Layed a peas of fine watter starched musoline upon them & So Pucked out the Letters upon Said musoline & then Layed the musoline upon a clean Peas of Paper and so made ye Impresion of the Letters by the Letters Pucked out on the musoline with a fine Pen She afterward went over the Letters again as She told me to finish them and I Saw Israel Peck make a pair of Crows quill and understood itt was for that Service and Sea the musoline att the Same time and itt was Pricked out Said Butterworths wife told me that Daniel Hunt of Rehoboth was Concerned in Passing Sd Counterfitt bills of her making and that Her brother Israel Peck came unto her about the time Sd Hunt was Carryed to Bristall and Examined by Coll Byffield about Passing a counterfitt bill and he the Sd Israel Peck then Desired her to Lett him have what Good bills she had in

the house that Hunt might make a Great as appearance as he Could before Coll Byffield but She would not Let Sd Israel have themLeast Hunt Should would Leave of and then She Should not Gett her money againe I then asked her whether Hunt Knowed She had any money & She told mee he Did for her had Changed a pretty deal for her about that time & She told me that Her Brothers Israel Peck & Nicholas Peck Lett him have what Good bills they had to make his appearance before Sd Coll Byffield Said Butterworths wife told me that the first bills that She began to make was of the Collony of Rhoad Island & She likewise told me that She had Eightean or twenty five Pound bills by her when her brother Nicholas Peck was in Prison att Newport for Passing a counterfitt bill and they all Passed Cleen that She maid only that which was taken with Said Nicholas Peck & She told me that they durstnot Pass any of them five Pound bills att Boston for they ware better Known at Boston than they ware att Rhoad Island & the Said Israel Peck helped make the body of the bills him Selfe but Could not finesh any with out her assistance and Israel Peck told me the Same him Selfe She Likewise told my wife that her brother Steven Peck had made two bills one of five Pounds & one twenty Shilling bill and She Said they would not do and therefore She would burn them and my wife told me of that My wife told me Likewise that She went into Butterworths hous & Said Butterworths wife was making a bill & there Lay by her the musoline while She was making the bill that was Peicked out for that Service & She Said to my wife that if She would come to her house She would Learn her & that she had Larnt Nicholas Pecks wife to make them & She could make them as well as her Selfe & She told me that Joseph Carpender Received a bill of twenty Shillings of her which was a counterfitt bill but he returned itt againe unto her and She gave him an oather in Lue thereof I put away about fifty Pounds worth of Counterfitt bills of ye Collony of Connecticut which I had of Said Butterworths wife and all of

them ware five Pound bills and I lett her have one halfe the Sum when Changed I had about two hundred & fifty Pounds in Counterfitt bills of the Collony of Rhoad Island & the Provence of Massachusets bay of Said Butterworths wife which I Passed away I passed Divis of sd five Pound Counterfitt bills of the Collony of Connecticut with the persons hereafter mentioned one to John Bishop one to Madam Mackintosh one to Philip Tilinghast att Providence and one to a Connecticut man one to Pratt of Sailham I passed unto James Dexter of Providence a fourty Shilling bill and my wife passed a five Pound bill unto him both of them was of the Provence of Massachusetts Bay I had them of Sd Butterworths wife She gave me two of these five Pound Bills for one Good one and She made them boath as She told me by the Good bill I Lett her have I putt one Hobots name on the back Side of one of them and that I sent to Josiah Carpendor by my Sister & he received itt I passed one twenty Shilling bill of the Collony of Rhoad Island unto John Frenches wife & her husband Sent itt to Boston but itt was Returned againe & is now in the hands of Justice Smith of Rehoboth & Said bill I had of Said Butterworths wife I passed three bills that was Counterfitt I had two of them of Sd Butterworths wife unto Nicholas Pulin and he Paid them away unto Ebenezer Lyon of the Collony of Connecticut But Sd Pullen did not Know that they ware Good bills Two of them ware of ye Collony of Rhoad Island & one of the Provence of the Massachusets bay the other one I had of Israel Peck

Taken upon Solem oath Nicholas Camp
in Newport above Sd
before me

Sam Cranston Gov

John Coddington Just of Peace

# Roger Williams' Funeral*

*Memorandum of Historical Facts by B. C. H.*

Jany 22, 1822 John Howland this day informed me that Roger Williams was burried near Patience Ashtons grave in land now used and ocupied by Sullivan Dorr as a garden said P. Ashtons Grave stones I have seen & they have not been removed until within 5 or 10 years. Howlands information was recd from Governour Bowen who received it from Justice Brown so called (at that time) from his being a Justice of the peace Brown stated that he recollected the funeral of Roger Williams very well, that there was a considerable parade at the time & that guns were fired over his grave, and further stated that he was in the habit of crossing the lots in his way to and from the Neck (where he lived) & not unfrequently directly by the grave of R-----W------ which he stated generally lead to some observations respecting him the said Williams.

Copied from a ledger of Benjamin Cushing Harris, owned by Benjamin Pierce Harris.

# New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*More unpublished Berkeley Letters and New Berkeleiana* is the title of a nineteen page pamphlet by Canon A. A. Luce which is reprinted from volume 23 of *Hermathena*, 1933. Among the letters included in this article are the two Berkeley letters which are in the Society's library.

*The Trading Post of Roger Williams with those of John Wilcox and Richard Smith* by Howard M. Chapin is a pamphlet of 26 pages issued in December by the Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island.

*A brief reference to the funeral of Roger Williams appears on page 12 of the *Report upon the Burial Place of Roger Williams*, which was published by the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1918.

PAIR OF OVERSHOES WORN BY LAFAYETTE AND PRESENTED BY HIM TO GEORGE W. GREENE WHO GAVE THEM TO THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Now in the Society's Museum.*

A MEDAL STRUCK IN PROVIDENCE IN 1835 IN OBSERVANCE OF THE DEATH OF LAFAYETTE THE PRECEDING YEAR.

*In the Society's Museum.*

*The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* for January 1934 contains a paper on *Steamboats on Narragansett Bay* by William King Covell.

Volume 2 of the Collections of the New London County Historical Society, entitled *Connecticut's Naval Office at New London During the War of the American Revolution* by Ernest E. Rogers, contains some letters written by Esek Hopkins.

*Antiques* for March 1934 contains an article on the date of Gilbert Stuart's death, the place of his burial and the inventory of his estate, by John Hill Morgan.

*The Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680*, which are published as volumes 29 and 30 of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, contain many items of Rhode Island interest, and an interesting and useful introduction by Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

## New Members

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. J. Earle Bacon
Mrs. Benjamin B. Manchester
Mr. Charles C. Stover
Mr. Gardner T. Swarts, Jr.
Mr. William G. Braude

## Lafayette Centenary*

Lafayette died on May 20, 1834, and this year, 1934, the centenary of his death is being observed throughout the United States with appropriate ceremonies.

*For an account of Lafayette's visits to Rhode Island, see the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS for January 1926, vol. xix, p. 1.

# The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

*Transcribed by* THEODORE G. FOSTER

(*Continued from page 32*)

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Capt Peter Cook in Scituate in said Purchase on Monday the First Day of October A d 1770. Thomas Hill continued Moderator—

Voted that Mr William West be a Committee Man to go to the Town Clerks offices at Newport and Providence and at Scituate to get from each of their Hands whatever in Plats of the Westquanaug Purchase are recorded in either of their offices agreeable to the former Proprietors order and make a Report thereof to the next Proprietors Meeting

This Meeting is adjournd to the First Monday in March which will be the Fourth Day of the Month A D. 1771. at 10 °Clock Forenoon at the House of Capt Peter Cook Aforesaid

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Capt Peter Cooke in Scituate on Monday the Fourth Day of March A D 1771

Peter Cook Moderator for this Meeting

This Meeting is adjournd to Saturday the 16th Day of this Instant March at 10 °Clock in the Forenoon at the House of Capt Peter Cook in Scituate

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Capt Peter Cook in said Purchase on Saturday the 16th Day of March A D 1771

Thomas Hill continued Moderator

Having heared the Report of Mr William West who was chosen a Committee Man to enquire whether the Original Plats at the Westquanaug Purchase were recorded in Newport or Providence or Scituate agreeable to the Original Proprietors order

And the said West made Report to this Meeting That he has examined the Several Town Clerks Offices and cannot find any Records of the Original Plats or said Purchase on Record in them or either of their Offices

This Meeting is Adjourned to Saturday the First Day of June next at 12 °Clock at Noon at the House of Jeremiah Angell Esq in Scituate March the 16th 1771

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Jeremiah Angell Esq in Scituate on Saturday the First Day of June A D. 1771 Thomas Hill continued Moderator

Whereas there is a Petition exhibitted to this Meeting relating to the Bounds of the Lands of the Westquanuag Purchase which Petition is referred to the next Meeting

This Meeting is adjourned to the Third Saturday in September next at the House of Jeremiah Angell Esq in Scituate at Twelve °Clock at Noon

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Jeremiah Angel Esq in Scituate on Saturday the 21st Day of September A D 1771 Thomas Hill Chosen Moderator

Whereas there was a Petition at the Former Meeting exhibited for Revising and Regulating the Bounds of the Lands in the Westquanaug Purchase where the Persons concernd shall think proper they paying the Charge that shall accrue upon the same

It is therefore Voted that said Petition be received and it is hereby received

This Meeting is adjourned to the First Monday in Novem[r] at 12 °clock at Noon at the House of Capt Peter Cooke in Scituate in said Purchase————

Test Tho[s] Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by adjournment at the House of Capt Peter Cooke in said Scituate in said Purchase on Monday the 4[th] Day of Nov[r] A D 1771 Thomas Hill Chosen Moderator of this Meeting

Benjamin Wite Jun is chosen a Committee Man in the Room of Capt Chris[t] Relph——This Meeting is adjourned to the Second Saturday of April next at 12 °Clock at Noon at the House of Capt Peter Cooke in Scituate in said Purchase which will be in the year 1772

Test Tho[s] Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase at the House of Peter Cooke in Scituate in said Purchase on Saturday the 11[th] Day of April A D 1772

Thomas Hill continued Moderator of this Meeting

Voted that the Clerk procure a Book suitable for the Recording the Returns that shall be made by the Committee and Surveyor in said Purchase for the Revising and maintaining the original Boundarys in said Purchase——

This Meeting is adjourned to the House of Thomas Brown in Scituate in said Purchase to Monday the 14[th] Day of September next A D 1772

This Meeting is adjourned to the House of Mr George Taylor Innholder in Said Scituate in said Purchase to Three of the Clock this present Afternoon——

Test Thos Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At the Time and Place last mentioned the Proprietors met and Continued

Thomas Hill Moderator of this Meeting
This Meeting is adjournd to Saturday the Tenth Day of April next at 12 °Clock at Noon at the House of Stephen Sheldon Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase——
Test Thoˢ Brown Proprietor Clerk

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by Adjournment at the House of Stephen Sheldon Junʳ in Scituate in said Purchase on the Tenth of April A D 1773 Thomas Hill continued Moderator
This Meeting adjourned to the Second Saturday of September next which is on the Eleventh Day of said Month A D 1773 at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun in Scituate in said Purchase at Twelve °Clock at Noon

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by adjournment at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase on Saturday the 11th Day of Septemʳ A D 1773 Thomas Hill continued Moderator of this Meeting
This Meeting is adjournd to Saturday the 16th Day of October next at 2 °Clock in the Afternoon at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase
Test Thomas Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting held by Adjournment at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun in Scituate in said Purchase on Saturday the 16th Day of October A D 1773
Thomas Hill continued Moderator
This Meeting is adjourned to the First Saturday in April next at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun Innholder in Scituate in said Province at 12 °Clock at Noon
Test Thoˢ Brown Proprietors Clerk

---

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Westquanaug Purchase held by adjournment at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase on Saturday the Second Day of April A D 1774

Thomas Hill continued Moderator of this Meeting This Meeting adjourned to the First Saturday in October next which will be the First Day of said Month at the House of Stephen Sheldon Jun Innholder in Scituate in said Purchase at 12 °Clock at Noon

Test Thoˢ Brown Proprietors Clerk

# Rhode Island Historical Society Treasurer's Report

## INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1933

### Receipts

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual Dues | $2,495.00 |
| Dividends and Interest | 3,916.82 |
| Rental of Rooms | 75.00 |
| State Appropriation | 1,500.00 |
| | $7,986.82 |

### Expenditures

| | |
|---|---|
| Binding | $ 47.37 |
| Books | 562.86 |
| Electric Light and Gas | 35.19 |
| Exhibitions | 119.01 |
| Expense | 131.61 |
| Grounds | 93.78 |
| Heating | 700.00 |
| Newspaper | 27.67 |
| Publications | 550.16 |
| Salaries | 5,325.00 |
| Supplies | 302.42 |
| Telephone | 59.75 |
| Water | 8.00 |
| | $7,962.82 |
| Surplus Income Account | 24.00 |
| | $7,986.82 |

## STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1933

### Assets

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grounds and Building | | | $ 25,000.00 |
| Investments: | | | |
| | Bonds | | |
| $4,000. | Cedars Rapids M. & P. Co., 5s, 1953 | $3,228.88 | |
| 3,000. | Central Mfg. District | 3,000.00 | |
| 3,000. | Cleveland Elec. Illum. Co., 5s, 1939 | 2,565.42 | |
| 4,000. | Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952 | 4,003.91 | |
| 1,000. | Western Electric Co., 5s, 1944 | 998.17 | |
| 4,000. | 61 Broadway Bldg., 1st Mtge., 5½s, 1950 | 4,000.00 | |
| 4,000. | Minnesota P. & Lt. Co., 1st 5s, 1955 | 3,930.00 | |
| 4,000. | Monongahela Valley Traction Co., 1st 5s, 1942 | 3,685.00 | |
| 2,000. | Ohio Power Co., 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952 | 1,974.00 | |
| 2,000. | Narragansett Elec. Co., 5s, 1947 | 1,980.00 | |
| 2,000. | Shell Union Oil Corp., 5s, 1947 | 1,979.00 | |
| 2,000. | Koppers Gas & Coke Co., 5s, 1947 | 1,962.50 | |
| 1,000. | Indianapolis Power & Lt., 1st 5s, 1957 | 994.50 | |
| 1,000. | Texas Pwr. & Lt., 1st Ref. 5s, 1956 | 1,021.25 | |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania R. R., Deb. 4½s, 1970 | 922.50 | |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania Water & Power Co., 1st 5s, 1940 | 1,005.42 | |
| | Stocks | | |
| 54 shs. | New York Central Railroad Co. | $3,766.47 | |
| 125 shs. | Pennylsvania Railroad Co. | 7,638.35 | |
| 30 shs. | Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. | 2,112.50 | |
| 7 shs. | Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Co. | 235.39 | |
| 40 shs. | Milwaukee Elec. Ry. & Lt. Co., Pfd. | 3,900.00 | |
| 64 shs. | American Telephone & Telegraph Co. | 5,960.05 | |
| 350 shs. | Providence Gas Co. | 5,755.68 | |
| 15 shs. Providence National Bank<br>30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Bldg. | | 1,800.00 | |
| 45 shs. | Blackstone Canal National Bank | 1,050.00 | |
| 52 shs. | Atchison, Topeka & S.F. Ry. Co., Com. | 6,247.85 | |
| 20 shs. | American Power & Light | 1,696.50 | |
| 30 shs. | Standard Gas & Electric, 4s, Pfd. | 1,906.50 | |
| 35 shs. | Public Service of N. J., 5s, Pfd. | 3,327.63 | |
| 10 shs. | Public Service of N. J., 5s, Cum. Pfd. | 990.00 | |
| 10 shs. | Electric Bond and Share, 5s, Pfd. | 922.00 | |
| | | | 84,559.47 |
| Cash on hand | | | 4,164.37 |
| | | | $113,723.84 |

## Liabilities

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Equipment Fund | | $ 25,000.00 |
| Permanent Endowment Fund: | | |
| Samuel M. Noyes | $12,000.00 | |
| Henry J. Steere | 10,000.00 | |
| James H. Bugbee | 6,000.00 | |
| Charles H. Smith | 5,000.00 | |
| William H. Potter | 3,000.00 | |
| Charles W. Parsons | 4,000.00 | |
| Esek A. Jillson | 2,000.00 | |
| John Wilson Smith | 1,000.00 | |
| William G. Weld | 1,000.00 | |
| Charles C. Hoskins | 1,000.00 | |
| Charles H. Atwood | 1,000.00 | |
| Edwin P. Anthony | 4,000.00 | |
| John F. Street | 1,000.00 | |
| George L. Shepley | 5,000.00 | |
| Franklin Lyceum Memorial | 734.52 | |
| | | 56,734.52 |
| Publication Fund: | | |
| Robert P. Brown | $ 2,000.00 | |
| Ira P. Peck | 1,000.00 | |
| William Gammell | 1,000.00 | |
| Albert J. Jones | 1,000.00 | |
| William Ely | 1,000.00 | |
| Julia Bullock | 500.00 | |
| Charles H. Smith | 100.00 | |
| | | 6,600.00 |
| Life Membership | | 5,600.00 |
| Book Fund | | 3,012.41 |
| Reserve Fund | | 1,043.12 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | | 165.24 |
| Surplus | | 13,900.87 |
| Surplus Income Account | | 1,667.68 |
| | | $113,723.84 |

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1933

### Receipts

| | |
|---|---|
| Reserve Fund | $ 15.15 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | 151.30 |
| | $ 166.45 |
| Balance January 1, 1933 | 2,764.97 |
| | $2,931.42 |

### Payments

| | |
|---|---|
| Reserve Fund | $ 70.40 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | 364.33 |
| | $ 434.73 |
| Balance December 31, 1933 | 2,496.69 |
| | $2,931.42 |

Providence, R. I., January 9, 1934.

Respectfully submitted,

G. A. Harrington,
*Treasurer*

## Form of Legacy

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*

*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

Providence

# Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XXVII JULY, 1934 No. 3

AUG 23 1934

GOVERNOR JOSEPH JENCKES

*See page 65*

Issued Quarterly

68 Waterman Street, Providence, Rhode Island

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVII JULY, 1934 No. 3

H. ANTHONY DYER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# Portrait of Governor Jenckes

The original oil portrait of Governor Joseph Jenckes, which was painted by Smibert in 1729, was recently acquired by Mr. Millard H. Jencks of New York, through whose courtesy, it is reproduced on the cover of this issue of the COLLECTIONS.

Mr. Jencks writes: "The picture is signed at right, 'J. Smibert, fecit' and dated 1729. On the back of the portrait is a piece of old tape on which is written:

'Joseph Jenckes, aetitis 73—given by
him unto Governor Ward.'

"It appears that the portrait was in the collection of Governor Richard Ward of Rhode Island for a number of years and subsequently in the collection of Mary S. Ward, descendant of Governor Ward. It was subsequently purchased for the Burlingham collection of early American portraits. I do not have the date on which this purchase was made. The portrait was exhibited at the Gallery of National Portraiture, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia 1926."

# Providence in Civil War Days*

*By* THEODORE COLLIER

No son of Rhode Island should need to be reminded that to his State belongs the distinction of having been the first of the States to step forward for the defense of the National Government. Early in 1861, three months before Ft. Sumter was fired upon, Governor Sprague offered the services of the militia for the protection of the Capital. Although assured that there was no occasion for the employment of troops, the Governor renewed the offer, through Major Goddard, who went to Washington, where he had an interview with General Scott. "I wish I had those fellows," said the gray hero of the Mexican war; "I know the stuff they are made of. In the war of 1812 I commanded all the New England troops, and I must say that for bravery, for resolute endurance of fatigue and privation, for steadiness under trials, for high personal character, in fact for all the qualities which make a good soldier, the soldiers of the regiment composed chiefly of Rhode Island men were the very best troops I commanded."

General Scott, however, was not free to act according to his judgment of the necessities of the situation. But when the time for action did come, Rhode Island gave ample proof that the boys of '61 were not unworthy of their sires of 1812.

The attack on Ft. Sumter, April 12, 1861, had but one meaning, War! "The issue is joined," wrote the editor of the *Journal;* "there is no longer any neutral ground." The news brought Rhode Island to her feet. The Assembly was at once convened in extra session; the Governor offered the State's troops to the Government again anticipating the President's call for volunteers. Col. Burnside tendered his services to the State; the General Assembly voted $500,000

*A paper read before The Review Club, February 9, 1918.

to fit out the troops; the banks came forward with loans; a quarter of a million was subscribed in a day; within a month the sum had risen to half a million. The various military companies of the city, the First Light Infantry, the National Cadets, the Providence Artillery, the Marine Artillery, the Mechanics Rifles and others, opened their lists for recruits. A meeting was called at the Armory; the crowd filled the place and overflowed into the street; the Governor spoke, "He would go himself, with a thousand men," tremendous enthusiasm; 75 men volunteered on the spot; before next sunset, 115 more. And that was but one company. The scene was being repeated in a score of places. Everywhere meetings; everywhere impassioned orators pressing the claims of country and the one duty of the hour. Drum and trumpet took up the refrain; the chimes of Grace Church caught the martial note and flung it out, to be borne on the wind through all the country side. And thus to the call of bell and bugle, with quick-beating heart, but with set face, Rhode Island fell into line.

Major Burnside's offer of service having been accepted, he received command of the First Rhode Island Volunteers. Regimental headquarters were established, in Broad Street, and rapidly the ranks were filled.

The 17th day was a day of patriotic demonstrations. The city was bedecked with flags; volunteering was brisk; many out-of-town military organizations came up; there was a parade, and a general inspection at the armories. The war-fever was running high; everyone was infected, but the young took it hardest. The High School pupils ran up a banner inscribed "Young America"; the Brown Freshmen held a meeting, and, after the customary "whereases" formally resolved that they approved of the policy of the President and that their hearts beat with patriotic sympathy toward those of their classmates who had already enlisted. At five o'clock the whole college gathered to unfurl Old Glory over University Hall, and to listen to the stirring words of President Sears, Bishop Clark, Dr. Hall, Dr. Caldwell, and Governor Dyer.

That was the beginning of flag-raising. Thereafter not a day passed without its flag-raising, until, it would seem, every school and church and place of business had shown its colors. A great staff, 140 feet high, was erected at the junction of Broad and High Streets, and a flag run up by a patriarch who was a lad of twelve when Betsy Ross stitched the first Stars and Stripes. Another staff was set up at the east end of India Bridge, and dedicated by Bishop Clark. But high above them all floated the flag from the steeple of the First Baptist Meeting House, 180 feet from the ground.

Then, as now, prices went up with the flags. From $5 they jumped to nearly $30,—all the fault of England, said some, because she has a corner on bunting.

"Old men and children; young men and maidens;" but where were the women? Sewing, sisters, sewing! For there was work to be done. Our boys must be fitted out; not in olive drab, called for by the regulations and provided by the Government; but more gaily appareled, in gray and blue, gray for the pantaloons, blue for the tunic; and a black felt hat, trimmed with a cockade and crowned with a feather. The materials for the tunics were to be found at the store of H. A. Prescott, and the ladies were asked to call at once, for "the work must be done by tonight;" so ran the notice. And as if to challenge northern pride and incite to more strenuous exertion, this urgent appeal was followed by a news item to the effect that the Rebels had already made "two breaches in Ft. Sumter."

The honor of the State was in the hands of its daughters; and it was safe. A thousand tunics given out one day; 300 finished garments returned by noon of the next! How the needles must have flown! It was an achievement worthy of the city already famous as the home of the Wilcox and Gibbs. Indeed, there was not work enough to go around. But the willingness of every volunteer was counted to her for patriotism, and bandages and blankets soon found occupation for hands that could not be employed on tunics. With just pride might the *Journal* exclaim, "The patriotic spirit of our Grandmothers had not died out."

"Old men for counsel; young men for war," runs the proverb; which, translated into the feminine, means, "Matrons for tunics, maidens for head-gear". While mothers sewed, the nimbler fingers of their daughters deftly shaped cockades and trimmed hats. Did anyone, perchance, as she bestowed a finishing touch upon a gay feather, secretly set a cap of her own for some soldier boy, whom War's approach had made for her "one in a thousand," in a sense not strictly regimental? I wonder! The girls of the High School and of the Bridgham Street School petitioned for a holiday, "in order that they might assist in the patriotic work." Alas, they were denied! Why is it that School Boards never understand?

But no one who wished to work need long be idle. When the last tunic had been made and the last hat trimmed, when trousers and shoes and belts had been sent down from Boston, when blankets and extra shirts had been provided, there remained one need, perpetual, insatiable, a need which cried continually, like the horse leech's daughter, "Give, give!", a need which yawned like the chasm in the Forum, demanding the last full measure of sacrifice,—the need of socks! So the needles were set up, and woman enlisted for the period of the war. No skirted creature was exempt. Nay, even the boys in the Reform School were set to knitting. Socks recognized no distinction of class, and spared no age; from the little girl in pigtails to the grannie in the chimney corner, the women of Rhode Island knitted, their clicking needles keeping time to the "Tramp, tramp, tramp" of marching boys. One old lady of 80, nameless, yet deserving fame, had turned out 100 pairs between Bull Run and Atlanta, when I lost count. And though now her needles lie a-rusting on the shelf, who doubts that tonight, reincarnate in some granddaughter, her "soul goes marching on," knitting two and purling two, turning out sweaters or helmets for the "boys over there"?

One thing more,—the regiment must have its colors; none but a woman's hand could meet that need. And on the 19th, the anniversary of Lexington, the women of Provi-

dence presented to the 1st Rhode Island a banner with the words, "With this banner Rhode Island places her honor in your hands." It was trust well reposed.

The next day, the 20th, they were "off for the front," not all of them, but 45 of each 100, "the best-drilled and the most experienced." The day was beautiful, and the streets were thronged with eager spectators. The picked contingents were assembled in Exchange Place. Col. Burnside, every inch a soldier and even then a general in the making, was in command. Most of us can see him only with the mind's eye, aided by what has been handed down in portrait or statue. But some there are, and some of them with us tonight, upon whose memory his knightly figure was indelibly etched, and who now, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, see, as clearly as if it were but yesterday, that superb horseman reviewing his troops as they filed past the spot where today horse and rider still stand immortalized in imperishable bronze.

The Governor and his staff were present. After the review came an address by Bishop Clark, and then the order "March!" Out through Exchange Place they swung, up North Main Street through Meeting to Benefit, and down Benefit Street to Fox Point, followed by a countless throng and cheered at every step. When they reached the wharf enthusiasm passed all bounds. "The sweet notes of the band, and the glittering array of muskets were at this moment the signal for an outburst of applause from the thousands who had lined the vessels and standing places in the vicinity of the wharf, which indicated the depth and heartiness of the controlling sentiment." As the "Empire State" which bore them drew away, "round upon round of applause, from old and young, greeted her and the living freight on her decks. The waving of handkerchiefs and the tossing of hats were but the slightest evidences of the deep feeling that pervaded the dense mass. Grief in its varied forms was there, and as the steamer gradually receded from view the moistened eyes of many a one told of the fondness of the human heart." They are going; we follow them with eyes and

voices; now they have passed beyond the reach of the loudest "Good-bye"; still over the water come "the full rich strains of Joe Greene's bugle"; now even those have died away in silence; the last farewell is spoken by the old Flag, the flag for whose honor the boys are going forth to fight. Never, I venture to think, had Old Glory seemed more glorious to those who saw it waving in the marvelous light of that April afternoon.

However much doubt might assail the hearts of others, there was one, at least, aboard that boat who counted upon a safe and speedy return, Joe Greene, the sweet bugler, the leader of the American Brass Band. Joe had not only the musical temperament, he had a soul of honor. His 22nd Annual Band Concert had been advertised and tickets sold therefor. But Joe's word was as good as his note; the very day he sailed away he informed the public through the columns of the *Journal* that if he returned from the campaign the concert would be given and the tickets would be good. Heaven recorded the vow and graciously enabled him to fulfill it.

Doubtless there were many who shared Joe's hope and belief that "the campaign" would soon be over. Even the President's first call had been for volunteers for ninety days; but days were to stretch into months, and months into years before the last of Rhode Island's boys should come back. No one probably foresaw the full duration of the war; but some, at least, more skilled in reading the signs of the times, anticipated a protracted and bitter struggle, and sounded a warning against an easy and delusive optimism. "This is no boy's play," wrote the editor of the *Journal* (April 22, 1861); "In the beginning we have great apprehension of temporary reverses; to doubt the ultimate result would be worse than to doubt the superiority of numbers and strength and resources; it would be to doubt the justice of Heaven" (April 24, 1861). "But we have just begun; we must go on; there is no halting now; there must be greater preparations; we need two more regiments, also a Home Guard; let companies be formed; let

everybody drill; don't wait for guns; drill! prepare! Stand by the President; stop grumbling and go to work! Enlist! And thank Heaven for being young and having such an opportunity of serving your country."

Such warnings and exhortations fell not upon deaf ears. Guards were formed; companies were organized; everywhere men were drilling; the contagion spread to all parts of the city and among all classes. The Old Guard of the First Light Infantry and the men of the First Ward were among the first to organize. But in a moment every ward had its Home Guard or its company of volunteers; many could boast of both. Besides there were the National Cadets, the Mechanics Guard (formed among the men at the Corliss Engine Works), the Horse Guards, the Irish American Guards.

The Brown students formed a Corps, fifty strong, under Capt. C. F. Mason; and a brave show they made in their dark blue jackets, blue trousers, and jaunty scarlet caps. But for brilliancy of plumage there were no birds as gay as the Burnside Zouaves,—"blue jacket, trimmed with orange; full red pants, gathered at the ankles; drab gaiters; blue mixed undershirt, faced with red; and white forage cap trimmed with red!" The example of sires was followed by their sons; the Union Guard, of lads from eight to fourteen, drilled and paraded under the able leadership of Capt. Nehemiah R. Knight, of equal age. Was it Capt. Knight's company, I wonder, that provoked the protest of one who signed herself, "Much annoyed Mother," against incessant drumming by half-grown boys? "Patriotism is all right," she allowed; "but waking up babies every five minutes till ten o'clock at night is all wrong!" About the same time there appeared in the paper a bit of gratuitous advice for prospective soldiers, which the "Annoyed Mother" must have read with heartfelt approval,—"Let your beard grow and save your throat." Parenthetically and by way of contrast, one may be permitted to allude to the counsel which Dr. Patten once gave to some "soldiers of the Cross" about to set forth from Princeton Seminary for

the mission field,—"Pray without ceasing, and shave every day!"

Meanwhile, on the 24th of April, the second detachment of the regiment had left for the front, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Joseph S. Pitman. They, too, were given an enthusiastic and hearty send-off, and as if to fan their patriotism to whiter heat, were accompanied on their march to the wharf by the old flag carried by the Rhode Island Regiment of the Line in the Revolution, borne on this occasion by Major John B. Chace.

By the beginning of May the first Rhode Island, 1350 strong, had pitched their tents in Washington and settled down to a soldier's life at "Camp Sprague," so-named after the dashing young Governor who claimed the privilege of impetuous and generous youth, and followed the flag, not only to camp but into battle itself. Inasmuch as the Lieutenant-Governor, Arnold, had previously (April 8th) gone off in command of the Marine Artillery, the government of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations devolved upon the Hon. the Secretary of State.

Though as to size "Little Rhody" might be "least of all among the princes of Judah," her smallness was not of the heart. She was a "good provider," and sent her boys out well-clothed and well-stocked. She knew what her menfolks liked, and to the twenty days' rations added "other descriptions of food not ordinarily served, but the want of which would be felt by men unaccustomed to active military life." Little wonder that, to quote from a contemporary war correspondent, the regiment was "much admired for the solid appearance of its members. They evidently live after the fashion of their forefathers, who were famous for their good cheer" (*New York Express*).

And Rhode Island had every reason to feel proud of the result of good feeding, good tailoring, and good discipline. "More admired than any other regiment in Washington," said the *New York Evening Post*, of our First; in their uniform of dark blue, with a Kossuth hat, turned up at one side; and they have each a light scarlet blanket which they

wear with an inimitable grace, pinning it in the shape of a coat, with a skill unattainable to ordinary mortals." "A model to be carefully studied and faithfully copied," wrote the *New York Tribune;* "First in general esteem," said the *Journal of Commerce.* Even Boston was impressed, and acknowledged that we made an "imposing appearance" (*Boston Journal*).

The Marine Artillery, the first battery of rifled cannon ever in the service of the United States, was also the recipient of many compliments. Already the men of the First had given proof of the stuff they were made of, on the long march from Frederick to Williamsport, thirty-four miles in seventeen hours, a feat which seemed impossible even for Regulars. "We never could have done it but for Burnside; Burnside walked to encourage the men; we can go anywhere with Burnside," wrote "Canonicus," whose letters to the *Journal* were a vital link between the boys at the front and the folks back home. Where shall we find words, cries "Canonicus," to describe a "State which sends a Governor who trudges through the heat and dust like a private, a Colonel who only asks his men to fare as he does himself, and a Chaplain (Woodbury) who limits his discourses to fifteen minutes!"

The swearing-in, May 4, took place in the presence of President Lincoln; and at the conclusion of the impressive ceremony the boys gave the President "three cheers and a Narragansett!" How well Rhode Island "kept the faith," let the Government itself be witness: "When in aftertimes," wrote Secretary Seward to Governor Sprague (September 5, 1861), "it shall be asked which of the thirty-four States was most loyal and most effective in saving our country from ruin in its present peril, the State of Rhode Island will have no fear that her traditional fame will suffer in the answer that shall be given."

On the 30th of May the call came for additional troops. Rhode Island's response was characteristically prompt. A second regiment, under the command of Col. John S. Slocum, was quickly raised, the Providence Artillery,

National Cadets, City Guards, and Mechanics Rifles enlisting in a body. The citizens, as before, were unsparing in their bounty; Governor Sprague's firm gave a thousand rubber blankets; everyone contributed according to his means; the hands of loyal women again worked the colors, a silk flag and a regimental standard of blue, bearing the arms of the State. On the 19th of June, the Second left for the front, accompanied by the Governor, the Secretary of State, and Bishop Clark, and followed by prayers from countless hearts that beat fast with mingled pride and apprehension. For by this time, a month before Bull Run, it required no prophet to tell Rhode Island that something was impending.

The air was full of rumors, and the strain was becoming intense. The people hung upon the latest bulletin, and anxiously asked what might happen next. The uncertainty was well-nigh unendurable. But they had the blessed relief of work. "The heart will be stronger, if the hands are busy," wrote the editor of the *Journal*; and every fearful soul knew that he was right. And how they worked, men and women alike, but especially the women! Morning after morning they met in their churches, Grace, Beneficent, Central, First, Westminster, St. Stephen's, the old First Baptist, and all the rest (or Dr. Hall's, Dr. Swain's, Dr. Caldwell's, Dr. Waterman's, as they affectionately called them, after their Fathers in Christ). Morning after morning they met, to cut, to sew, to wind, to pack, and then to cut and sew again. Or else they knitted. There was no want of materials for work; Providence kept back nothing.

The necessity for organization was seen from the start. Within a week after the departure of the First for the front, the Rhode Island Relief Corps was formed, to assist the Hospital Staff in caring for the health of the soldiers and nursing the sick. Soon followed a Committee of Relief for the families of volunteers; and directly upon the heels of that the Ladies' Voluntary Relief Association, to provide work for dependent women, and thus reduce suffering at home while ministering to the absent soldier. The Florence

Nightingale Association, comprising women of many denominations, meeting in the Chapel of Dr. Hall's Church, made their contribution in hospital supplies, lint, bandages, little first-aid kits, and the like. The men, not to be behind in the good work, provided an ambulance, built under the direction of Surgeon Wheaton. The approach of summer called for "Havelocks," for the heat of Washington was hard on the boys from Narragansett. The brand new uniforms of April were beginning to show the effects of two months' constant wear, and little fingers, unequal to more exacting tasks, were busy making pocket pincushions, always welcome, wrote "Canonicus," but thrice welcome when stocked with needles already threaded.

And there was the regimental larder, which must be running low. There was nothing for it but to replenish it. And knowing "our boys' " appetites, nothing short of a shipload would suffice. So they loaded the "Sea Gull" to the gunwales, with things terrestrial and things celestial (500 Bibles, forsooth), things perishable and things imperishable, things digestible and, alas, things indigestible: a "mountain of cake," 40 bbls. of vegetables, 1000 lbs. of tautog, 140 bu. of clams, 3 bbls. of cider (June cider!), and to show that there were no hard feelins', a "quantity of pain-killer," amount not stated. The tautog arrived, we are told, in a "fair state of preservation;" the clams, alas, succumbed to the heat, and were reluctantly and, I suspect, irreverently consigned to the Chesapeake—shells to shells, bivalves to bivalves!

But the sound of merriment was soon to give way to that of mourning. Early in July, death first claimed the redemption of the pledge of patriotism; two privates, William Bourne and Nathan Morse, were killed by the explosion of a shell, while at gun practice. Rhode Island had laid her first dead upon the altar of the country. It was an earnest of the heavier sacrifice soon to be exacted of her on the fields of Virginia.

Scarcely had the city paid its funeral honors to the brave

young dead, when there came the news of Bull Run. It was at first announced as a "brilliant victory for the national army." For the space of a day Providence was jubilant; then the ugly truth got abroad,—the Union had suffered its first defeat! But Rhode Island had no reason to be ashamed of her part in the sorry affair. Her two regiments, united in a brigade under the command of Burnside, and her battery, had acquitted themselves splendidly. They were as steady as veterans; not a man flinched. There could be no flinching under such a leader as Burnside. His was the coolest head on that distracted field. "All that we won on that day, and all that we did not lose we owe, under God, to Col. Burnside," was the testimony of an eye-witness.

Such was Burnside, patient, firm, sympathetic, unremitting in the care of his men, ever ready to endure hardship as a fellow-soldier, equally steadfast in good fortune and ill, wearing his laurels with unfeigned modesty, resolute in adversity, free from taint of bitterness or envy, generous, magnanimous, a knight without reproach,—no wonder "his men fairly worshipped him!" It was true, as Governor Sprague upon a later occasion said, that "No man in the history of the State in so short a time had more firmly entwined himself around the hearts of our people" (August 7, 1861, at Newport, on presenting sword and thanks for the State).

The honor of Rhode Island's regiments had been dearly bought. In killed, wounded and missing the losses numbered 196. Especially the 2nd suffered heavily, losing her colonel, the gallant Slocum, Major Ballou, and Captains Tower and Smith. Among those who fell in the First none died more regretted or left a more fragrant memory than Lieut. Prescott, of whom it was written, "No man went to the war from loftier Christian and patriotic motives than he." On the Sunday following the battle, a service commemorative of the dead was held in Grace Church. The Bishop spoke in healing words of comfort and triumphing faith, and paid the tribute of honor to the "heroic Slocum,"

"the accomplished Ballou," "Prescott, the Christian soldier," and "Comstock, hardly out of his boyhood." "The State will cherish them all in her memory, as heroes of whom we shall ever be proud, and whose names we will teach our children to venerate as sacred." In the following spring the bodies of Col. Slocum, Major Ballou, and Captain Tower were brought back home and interred with full military honors. And the record of Prescott, the "good soldier of Jesus Christ" is preserved on a memorial tablet in Grace Church Chapel.

But tears of joy mingled with tears of grief on that Sunday after Bull Run. The First returned from the front, their term of service having expired. Although it was early morning when they arrived, the wharf and the adjoining streets were crowded with thousands who had come out to welcome them home. Back over the route they had traversed three months before, to the exhilarating music of never-ending cheers, they marched to Exchange Place. There they drew up in hollow square, their gallant Colonel in the centre. And the display of enthusiasm was "magnificent," says the *Journal*. But for me the picture would not be complete without one touch added by one who although then a little girl still recalls the scene as if it were but yesterday. "My Mother," said she, "took me through all those men,—and oh, but they were travel-stained and unkempt!, and lead me up to where Col. Burnside sat upon his horse, and he reached down and shook hands with me. I shall never forget it." No more would I.

Bull Run had ended in defeat. But was Rhode Island dismayed? Not for one moment! "Defeat is only an argument for new effort," wrote the editor of the *Journal;* "Our banner which has been trailing in the dust must be lifted up toward the stars . . . the ranks must be filled up . . . let us begin today. Let the Government say when and whence it wants men, and they shall be forthcoming. Let no man lisp the word 'discouragement' . . . the North is in earnest, true as steel, and tough as oak." To such a clarion call the

whole city rose in response. The great mass meeting in Market Square was such an exhibition of patriotic feeling as no man in that generation had ever before seen. The Mayor presided; among the Vice Presidents were Lieutenant-Governor Arnold, Dr. Wayland, Professor Caswell, J. C. Brown, Governor Hoppin, A. C. Barstow, R. H. Ives, James B. Angell. "One voice, one sentiment, one impulse moved the thousands gathered in council." First to speak was Thomas A. Jenckes. He was followed by President Sears, Dr. Wayland, Dr. Hall, Bishop Clark and others. The Right Reverend Bishop was stirred to his very depths. As he strode into the Forum that day, it was not with the "preparation of the Gospel of peace" that his feet were shod. "The time for leniency has passed," he shouted, "the dispensation of hemp has commenced!" The vast assembly rose to the challenge of the crisis, and with a mighty shout pledged their fortunes and their lives to preserve the nation and uphold its honor. And Rhode Island kept her word! Let a neighboring state bear witness: "If a clear head, a sound heart, and an open hand constitute greatness, Rhode Island, small in size, may be considered just now the biggest state in the Union (*Boston Transcript*).

Another regiment and another battery were promptly raised; the lists were opened for two companies of Chasseurs and a third battery; and a third regiment, the "Irish Regiment," so-called, was quickly filled. The fever was working in Rhode Island's blood. From far-off California came a flag for the Second Regiment, the filial gift of distant sons to the Mother State. All through the late summer and the fall recruiting went steadily on, and by October Rhode Island had four thousand men at the front or in Washington. And when 1861 came to a close, looking back over her year's work, she could pride herself on having raised four regiments and eight batteries for the service of the Union. Simultaneously with the raising of regular troops, proceeded the formation of new units of the Home Guard. A movement was set on foot to enrol the whole

body of male citizens into companies for military drill. About forty such companies were organized.

The women stood shoulder to shoulder with the men. The work of relief kept even pace with that of recruiting. A branch of the Sanitary Commission had recently been organized and was making an effective appeal for support and contributions. Up to the close of 1862 only five states had made larger contributions to the Sanitary Commission than Rhode Island. Early in August the Women's Volunteer Relief Association opened headquarters at 17 South Main Street, and throughout the remainder of the War their offices served as a sort of central bureau for the collection and forwarding of supplies of every nature.

Inevitably, Bull Run had affected the tone of community life; it was pitched in a lower key; it was more intense. But of downright pessimism there is little to be discovered. August was a trying month, with premature talk of "peace with the erring sisters of the South;" with misdirected, but none the less harmful, criticism of the Government; with an occasional outcropping of the evil spirit of mob violence. But Providence generally kept its head and stood fast in the conviction that all would yet be well. This was no one man's doing; it was the work of a conjuration of all good men, yea and good women. But it cost a mighty effort! The deeds wrought by the sword, immortal though they be, were as an easy triumph, when compared with the victory of those who "through *faith* subdued kingdoms and turned to flight armies." And who were these? Time would fail me to tell of them all; their name is Legion. But some there were of higher stature, some whose clearness of vision and whose power of utterance made them the guides and leaders of their fellow-men, the molders of opinion, the inspirers of great undertakings. And among these one may, without envy, name such as Dr. Wayland, President Sears, Bishop Clark, Dr. Hall, Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Swain, Governor Hoppin, Senator Anthony, Mayor Knight, C. A.

Updike, A. C. Barstow, T. A. Jenckes, Mayor Doyle, Abraham Payne.

And there is another, one whose voice was less frequently heard on public platforms, but who wrought with powerful pen, shaping the thoughts of thousands, James B. Angell, the editor of the *Journal*. As a mighty rock in a weary land were his editorials in those early years of the War, when delay and defeat taxed patience and faith to the uttermost, when even the strong were assailed by doubt and fear. His faith was unshakable; he never despaired of the Republic; however dark the sky, he resolutely set his face toward the light. No faint-heart he, to be cowed by disaster; nor yet a shallow optimist, trusting to lucky stars. He *saw*, and therefore he believed. He saw, with the eye of a prophet, the issues involved in the struggle; and once he had seen them, he could no more doubt the final outcome than he could question the Eternal Justice. "Let us remember," he wrote in August 1861, when sickening fear lay on the hearts of thousands and men were already talking of compromise, "Let us remember that we are acting our part in an arena on which a cloud of witnesses are looking; that we are fighting not only for regulated liberty here, but for the cause of free institutions everywhere . . . let us bear in mind that millions of hearts across the water are throbbing with anxiety in our behalf, and praying that victory may rest upon our standards. Let us rise to some appreciation of the magnitude, the far-reaching results, the world-wide significance of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The victory is not to be won by men of fitful impulse, but by the men of steady and persistent courage, the men who find in defeats arguments and stimulus for new and mightier efforts" (August 26, 1861). Day after day with untiring persistence he preached this saving gospel of implicit confidence in the great cause, which could not, must not, fail, and of wholehearted support of him to whom its guardianship had been committed,—"Trust the President, stand by the Government!" His logic was invincible; his words burnt them-

selves into the mind. He struck hard, but never with malice; he could wield the lash of rebuke, but never, not once, did a single scurrilous word fall from his pen. Capable of deep feeling, for he had a poet's sensitiveness, he never allowed passion to obscure his vision nor distort his judgment. His every utterance was sane and judicious.

The influence of such an imperturbable soul was irresistible. Minds temporarily dazed by disaster recovered their poise; drooping spirits revived, and with the coming of September the town took on a more cheerful air. Bull Run was a sorry failure, but after all, they said, it was not irreparable; the blockade was a success; McClellan was "organizing victory"; the boys at the front were well and in the best of spirits (as anyone might know from the letters of "Canonicus," "Wampanoag," "Narragansett," and "What Cheer, Jr." which appeared almost daily in the *Journal*). Business was improving; several firms had contracts for army cloth; cotton was high, 20c, but the mills were still supplied; the Providence Tool Company had a contract for 25,000 muskets; Mansfield and Lamb were making bayonets; Corliss and Nightingale were making breech-loading cannon; a company had been formed to manufacture the Burnside rifle. So there was plenty of work, good prices, and general contentment.

If there were any idle hands in Providence they surely were not those of women. But two months in existence, and the Ladies Volunteer Relief Association had already collected and forwarded 12,500 garments, to say nothing of towels, socks, handkerchiefs and minor accessories; had given work to 522 needy women, and had paid out $2,000. The managers fully merited the *Journal's* praise as "ladies of large experience, excellent judgment, and warm sympathies." All through the War, with unflagging energy these devoted women carried on this beneficent work, and no statistics can give an adequate idea of the service they rendered.

The Sanitary Commission was not a whit behind in raising contributions of money and supplies for the sick and

wounded. The children, too, did their bit: the pupils at the Arnold Street Grammar School sent in forty-two comforts, seven quilts, three blankets, one pair of mittens, all their own work. From the children of the Prospect Street School came quilts; two little boys gave up their feather pillows for sick soldiers and said they "would make their bolsters do." With truth might "Canonicus" write back home, "No State surpassed, and few equalled, Rhode Island in her care of her troops."

Incidentally, those hospital boxes were not all pillows and mittens. A list of their contents reads like a grocer's inventory; every conceivable sort of food was included. And not only food. Smuggled away between blankets and bandages was many a bottle of good cheer; for these sisters of mercy bound up wounds, after the manner of the Good Samaritan, "pouring in oil and wine." And for wine they laid every growing thing under contribution,—elderberry wine, blackberry wine, strawberry wine, whortleberry wine, currant wine, grape wine, cherry wine, claret wine, Muscat wine; and for ballast, cider! Once in my life I saw a wine-card, but compared with this list, it was as a primer in comparison with a dictionary.

Toward the close of October the day of Prayer and Fasting was observed in all the Churches. The heart of the Nation was heavy; for again, at Manassas, its arms had suffered defeat. Instinctively it turned to the God of its Fathers, and in repentance and supplication found strength and peace. But it was hard, waiting for victory. The war-news was far from encouraging. McClellan's army was inactive. Burnside's Roanoke expedition, although ultimately successful, met with many delays and accidents, and they had counted upon Burnside and his Rhode Island regiments. Christmas passed, not without its Christmas boxes to the boys at the front, and the New Year entered, and still no victory. At last, about the middle of February, came the cheering news of the fall of Fort Donelson, and the heart of the North revived. The *Journal* hailed it as "the decisive battle in the West," and the joy of the city found

vent in salutes, the ringing of bells and illuminations. The chimes of Grace Church knew only patriotic tunes that night, "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," "America," the "Old Bristol March," and the "Marseillaise," the battle hymn of democracy the world over.

(*To be concluded*)

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*Le Service de Santé Francais Pendant la Guerre d'Independance des Etats Unis*, by Maurice Bouvet, published at Paris in 1934, is a monograph of 111 pages containing many references to the French military and naval hospitals in Rhode Island.

*History and Genealogy of the Lapham, Wells, Storle* (and) *Johnson Families* by Olene Lapham, 1934, is a privately printed pamphlet of 29 pages, which contains some Rhode Island genealogy.

*The Gibbs Family of Rhode Island* by George Gibbs, New York, 1933, is a beautiful privately printed volume of 193 pages with twenty illustrations.

*Reminiscences of East Greenwich* by Henry E. Turner, an address delivered in 1891, has been recently republished by the East Greenwich Free Library as a pamphlet of 32 pages.

## Notes

Miss Marguerite Appleton has been elected to membership in the Society.

# Important Roger Williams' Letter

The letter of Roger Williams, which was recently purchased by Mr. Frederick S. Peck of Barrington, does not appear to have been printed in full before, but extracts from it were printed in Backus' "History of the Baptists", in the Narragansett Club Publications, in the Catalogue of the Terry sale, and elsewhere. Through the kindness of Mr. Peck we are printing this letter in full.

An Answer to a scandalous papr wch came to my hand from the Massachusets clamouring agst the purchase & slandering the purchases of Qunnunnagut Iland, & subscribed by John Easton.

The good providence of the God of Truth seemes to call me to discover the Truth of proceedings touching this Iland: partly as it hath pleased his Mercy to use me as an Instrumt, betweene the English of Rode Iland & the Natives about Rode Iland, Qunnunnagut & from the beginning partly, as I have bene calld out by Letters from the Massachuset & from Rode Iland, as allso by Importunities from the Natives to travell in this busines: partly, as it concernes me (in many respects) some thing more then every one, to endeavour the peace & Libertie of the Colony within it selfe, & betweene this Colony & the other Colonies & the Barbarians round about us. And lastly, this Fierbrand having bene sent about the Countrey, & even to the Gover hand of the Massachuset, & from his to mine, I judge it my dutie not to be unwilling to put to this seasonable hand to quench it.

I shall first premise a word to the purchase of Rode Iland with the Grasse of Qunnunnagut &c with wch this papr begins

I have acknowledged (& have & shall Endeavor to maintaine) the Rights & proprieties of every Inhabitant of Rode Iland in peace. Yet since there is so much sound & noyes of purchase & purchasers; I judge it not unseasonable to declare the Rise & bottome of the planting of Rode Iland in the fountaine of it. It was not price nor Money tht could have purchased Rode Iland. Rode Iland was obtained by Love: by tht Love & Favour wch that honble Gentleman Sr Hen. Vane and my selfe had with tht great Sachim Miantunnomu about the Leauge, wch I procurd betweene the Massachuset English &c. & the Narrigansets in the Pequt War.

It is true, I advised a Gratuitie to be presented to the Sachim & the Natives And because Mr. Coddington, & the rest of my Lo: Countrimen were to inhabite the place, & to be at the charge of the Gratuitie I drew up a writing in Mr. Coddingtons name, & the names of such of my Lo: Countrimen as came up with him, & put it into as sure a Forme as I could at tht time (amongst the Indians) for the Benefite & Assurance of the present & future Inhabitants of the Iland.

This I mention tht as tht truely noble Sr Hen. Vane hath bene so great an Instrumt in the hand of God for the procuring of this Iland from the Barbarians as allso for the procuring & confirming of the charter So it may by all due & thanckfull acknowledgmt be remembred & recorded of us & ours, wch reape & enjoy the Sweete fruits of so great Benefites & such unheard of Liberties amongst us.

Againe, a word (in generall) as to this Iland of Qunnunnagut, the truth is, tht at my Earnest motion, tht great Sachim (aforesaid) gave us leave to cut the grasse of Qunnunnagut, & of other Ilands (some excepted in wch Mr. Wintrop & my selfe had interest). And it is allso true, tht these two present dissenting Sachims (with whom John Easton joynes) & their Father deceased, have long & most barbarously abused the Inhabiants of

Rode Iland, about the cutting of Grasse on Qunnunnagut, driving them (for their peace sake) to hire & pay for at extreame rates, their owne Grasse, wch the former Great Sachim most freely granted to us. In wch respect (to end the barbarous Controversie & wrong) as allso to further & advance tht great End of planting & subduing this barbarous Countrey to English Industrie & Civilitie. I have longed for & rejoice in the purchase of this Iland: And tht rather because, as it lyeth in the bosome of the Colony & so convenient for Rode Iland: So it pleased the right honble the Councell of State, by Authoritie of Parliamt, to nominate this Iland in one of their particular expresses relating to us.

Now as to the charges in this false paper agst the Purchasers (who are the greatest part of all the chiefe Inhabitants of Rode Iland both Magistrates & others) this fowle mouth clamors, tht they are false & prfidious, & (in effect) cheaters, Drunckards, Murtherers &c.

First, false & prfidious, because being appointed by the Towne of Newport to Purchase it for the Towne, they Purchased it for themselves.

I answer: questionly if this had bene the case, it had bene a prfidious Act: but this is not the case, it is either ignorantly or enviously mistaken, & so represented ugly: I have observed & examined this busines to the bottome, & I find not, but tht as to (the substance of) the proceedings of the purchasers, they have not only bene just & righteous, but allso deliberate & prudent, & (in a manner) unavoidable & necessary.

For the truth is, this busines of Qunnannagut was intangled & clogd with many thornie Controveries & extreame difficulties. the English at Newport have bene at Long & Constant Contention with these 2 Young Sachims & their Father, about the cutting the Grasse on Qunnunnagut. And it is the wonderfull mercy of God tht the English & Pagan bloud hath not bene yearely mixt togeather about this matter: In So much tht Such of the

Inhabitants as had Interest in these Medowes were forced to petition the Towne, of Newport, in their Towne meeting; either to stand by them (tht is by force of Armes) in the cutting of their Medowes, or else to give them leave to make a New Purchase themselves.

The Towne of Newport wrote to me about this matter & allso to chose out a Committee of Six men to Endeavor a New Purchase.

Now allso, the English were at Controversie amongst themselves about a New Purchase: Newport and Portsmouth could not agree about it. Nor the Towne of Newport within it selfe: And those very Commrs appointed to make the Purchase could not agree in whose name the Purchase should be made, whether in the Towne of Newports name, or in the name of all the Inhabitants of Rode Iland; & there fore were glad to pitch upon a third tearme Viz: tht they would Purchase it [For common good.]

Lastly the very Acts & Orders of the Towne of Newport were at Controversie & devided one agst another about this matter. By one Act six men were chosen to make a purchase. Endeavors were used, & moneys laid out. But within a few months a crosse Act was procurd by some Viz: tht they should stand to their former purchase, & not proceede in any further purchase: By wch Act the former Commrs were deserted & befoold & their monies & charges Laid out never accounted. The dore was still left open to Continuall Contention & hazard of Bloudshed (about the Medowes) betweene the English & the Barbarians And a New dore of Temptacion opened for any other (English or foreigners) to make a purchase (of wch very thing there was not a vaine report then abroad extant.) Now let all impartiall & sober minded judge, what obligation Lay upon the 6 men appointed (as the paper Simply Speaks) to make the purchase? what prfidiousnes appeares in any of them, if after their being shamefully turnd out of their Trust & Ap-

pointmt wch they had sollemnly with subscription undertaken & (their time & charges never accounted for to them) faithfully discharged: And after the Townes declaration tht they would make no purchase: And the Iland was in hazard & like to be bought by others: I say what prfidiousnes appeares in any of them, if (about 2 years after all the former Agitations) a Select & resolved Company of Voluntiers out of all the Iland, Portsmouth & Newport; breake through all Difficulties & resolve (for their own & the publike good, both of Iland & Colony) to goe thorough with the Worck? Yea I querie whether if these purchasers (so fowlely represented by the slanderour as prfidious fellowes &c) had not stept forth with so timely a Resolution & vigour for their owne & the publike good: whether they could have wiped out the Blot & Imputation of being false & perfidious to themselves & the whole Iland?

But alas, how easie & common is it for arrant whores to cry whore first? For (if this be John Eastons pen or subscribing), how is it tht in the beginning of this papr he playes the Attorney for the right of all the Inhabitants of Rode Iland, & yet in his second thoughts & Lines of the same papr he once & againe bloteth out all Portsmouth & snatcheth all to his owne Towne of Newport, for wch prfidious dealing (from his owne pen apparent) I presume tht no honest man of Newport will give him thancks:

Again this prfidious paper acknowledgeth tht we live by Lawes, & Saith (wch is a mistake) tht the Narrigansets have bound themselves to our Lawes, in Controversies between us & them And, though he knowes tht the very principles & Consciences of ye Massachusets & the other Colonies, destroy our Liberties & teare up our very Foundacion & Constitution. And though he knowes tht his Highnes the Lo: Protector his Courts are open amongst us, & tht neither himselfe nor any tht I know of hath made complaint, or commenced any Suit agst

any of the purchasers: yet hath he most prfidiously joyned with these bruitish pagans (who have dealt so long so basely with Rode Iland about their Medowes) to hinder the bringing of this Iland from paganisme to Civilitie; yea & allso to bring in all the other Colonies (& especially the Massachusetts on us, from whence so many are expressly or (in effect) expelld & banished. He knowes what numbers in every Towne of the Colony are obnoxious & liable to the prisons & whips & Halters of the Massachusets (for their Religion sake) even his owne Father as much as any: what gracious Spirit then (either of Anger, Envy or Revenge) is this child of, who can subscribe & joyne with the very Pagans to bring in an Inundation of Calamitie upon us, yea & to hazard the very hanging of his owne Father?

Another charge is tht they made this purchase of Druncken Sachims tht they sold them Liquors wch made them drunck &c.

I answer: First his distinction of Druncken & Sober honest Sachims, is both Lamentable & ridiculous: Lamentable tht all the Pagans are So given to Drunckennes. It is ridiculous allso tht these two dissenting Sachims should be estemmd such Sober honest men. When (besides the Long experience of their owne & their Fathers honestie about the Meadowes) it is notoriously knowne what conscience all Pagans make of Lying, Stealing, Whoring, Murthering &c. And as for Drunckennes allso, they will not Say themselves (especially the youngest of the two) but tht it is their frequent & delightfull practice.

But as to the imputation of making them drunck (I suppose he hath some other meaning then tht childish Fancie tht the Liquors made the Indians drunck) I ans: I have examined these particulars following & I find upon unquestionable Testimonie tht the Sachims when they went to the Iland to treat were sober: that when they treated they were sober (& all meanes of their Distemp purposely kept from them) When they contracted &

concluded they were Sober: When they receaved paymts they were Sober: they have bene allso sober when in their most publike Sollemne meetings they have sollemly declared to all Natives their Sale of the Iland & their Resolution to maintaine their Act.

And if the Natives had Liquor & were distempered before or after, what is tht to the invalidating or aspersing of a Busines? If so, what contracts, what purchases among Merchants or others in this Countery, or any Countery shall stand & be effectuall?

Lastly the purchasers are Said to countenance the druncken Sachims to cheating the honest Sachims & the Inhabitants & to kill them &c.

I answer as there have bene many of these Indian princes & their Lords bene satisfied (besides those two first Sachims who sold & had unquestionable Right to Sell:) So have there bene many large proffers tendred to these two young dissenting Sachims from first to last. But as they inherite their Fathers Basenes about ye Meadowes, So doe they inherite his Barbarous Spirit, as to Bargaines with the English. He (& the elder of these) being rich in peag have made demaunds like themselves. He for some other Lands, & these for this Iland, Viz. That we should furnish them with poyson to dispatch Onkas: that we should constantly send the English Souldiers with theirs agst Onkas; that we should constantly send up contribucion to their Niccommoes or Devilish Feasts: On these & other such abominable Tearmes they have offred to consent & tht without any other paymt:

Lastly it is well knowne tht these two young Sachims would not stirr (for the other Sachims maintaine their Sale, by their owne Constant practice & Customes) did not the Subscriber or some other mould or sharpen them to a mischiefe.

But the true God is a Righteous Judge & his Justice shines in two or three particulars about this Iland First the

obstructors of the former & Later purchasing of this Iland are like to have little share in it.

2ndly Such as have peaceably & patiently long borne the baseness of these two Sachims & their Father about their Meadows are now like to be well supplied.

3rdly these honest & Sober Sachims who have thus propagated their Fathers wickednes toward the English are like to be cut shore of their Fair proffers wch hietherto Pride & Folly have refused.

By this time, I hope I have (in some measure) stopt the mouth & shewd the weakenes & wickednes, of these Outragious clamors: But (as before) I add Since the Subscriber mencions his Highnes the Lo: Prot: tht if any Law he broke or wrong done, no man amongst us, but in his Highnes Courts of Justice in the Colony is responsable & liable to an Equall Triall. But if the Subscriber had in truth owned his Highnes Authoritie over us, or had respected the Colonies peace & Liberties: this naked Indian Bastard had never thus bene sent to bawle over the Countrey (to the shame of its barbarous Nakednes) Nor had bene thus whipt & sent home to its owne Father by

Providence 25.6 A Cordial friend to this Colony & all the English
1659 (so called) Colonies R. W.

## Correction

In line 19 of page 54 of volume 27 of the COLLECTIONS, please read *Pearce* instead of *Pierce*.

# Address Delivered at the Opening of the South County Museum at Wickford on June 2, 1934

By William Davis Miller

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Officers, Members and Friends of the South County Museum, truly can I say that never before have I been able, with such sincerity, to express the honor and the pleasure which I feel for having been afforded this opportunity. For by the conception and the execution of the idea "to encourage the study and better understanding of early American life and industry in the home, in the shop, on the farm and on the sea; and especially to discover, identify, classify, preserve and exhibit the tools, implements, utensils, instruments, vehicles, appliances and mechanical devices used . . ." the founders of this South County Museum have filled in a gap in the historical record of this, our State, that was sadly needed although long appreciated by students of the colonial and early federal days, appreciated but never until now remedied. Therefore, we who did not act are the more eager to applaud those who have.

It would appear to be an abiding trait of man that the majority will ever seek to preserve that which is considered the finest and richest evidences of the years that have past. It is a laudable trait if not carried to extremes but is very liable to lead to a habit of relegating the humble but necessary examples of the labors of our forefathers to those dark and dusty corners under the eaves where they remain in perennial jeopardy of the awful domestic rite . . . Spring Cleaning. By the same token when a craftsman is considered, we are wont to think first of his finished work, then if he has achieved success, in a lesser degree of the man himself but practically not at all of the tools he used and the method and craft employed.

The museums and the historical societies in general, because of this and also because of the habitual penury which such institutions suffer, can not round out their collections, despite the realizations and desires of an antiquarian curator who understands the unevenness of the collection under his charge but whose hands are bound by lack of space and funds . . . and often by the ambitious and competitive impulses of his board of trustees.

Now you gentlemen have come forward and remedied this

serious defect of balance, not only in this glorious old Narragansett Country but for and to the benefit of the whole State, you have set up a collection that is, and will ever be, an invaluable supplement to the fine museums of which Rhode Island is so justly proud. And you have chosen well the situation for your work, for the Narragansett Country, the King's Province, the King's County, Washington County, the South County . . . to give it all its names throughout the ages . . . is the most suitable, the most typical, the most comprehensive of all the counties in the State for the location of a museum of this sort, a museum of the home, the shop, the farm and the sea. A county of great farms from the latter half of the seventeenth century . . . this barn stands on land included in the great Smith . . . later Updike . . . estate, estimated at one time to contain over three thousand acres . . . great farms of rich lands and of richer avails in horses, cattle, sheep, dairy products and grains. So great was the potential value of this district in the eyes of the early colonists that for a long time it was a veritable Tom Tidler's Ground, the cause and scene of a long and bitter struggle to wrest this Narragansett Country from the jurisdiction of the stubborn little Colony of Rhode Island whose jealous protection, however, at last overcame the covetous designs and hostile acts of her neighbors and resident advocates.

On these broad acres lived the families of the Narragansett Planters, who created for themselves a frankly autocratic community, but being influenced, doubtlessly, by the climate and the beauties of this countryside, and certainly unhampered by restrictions enforced by a theocratic power, this autocracy was mellowed by a geniality and warmth unknown in the cold and more rarified atmosphere of the nearby colonies.

In those early days, and until adverse economic restrictions, which led to the Revolution, broke up the majority of their estates, the whole of the South County benefited by the presence of these landholders. Their prosperity was reflected throughout the country-side and as they prospered so did the shop-keeper, the craftsmen, the miller and the shipwright. The best evidence of this is found in the fact that this community was able to support such silversmiths of merit as Samuel Casey, John Waite and Nathaniel Helme, whose craft was entirely dependent upon proximity to wealth and was therefore one rarely found at such a distance from rich towns and cities. Again the Planters must needs find outlets for their produce, and as in those days commerce was almost entirely seaborn, it was natural, despite the considerable use made by the Planters of the port of Newport, that not only docks but also shipyards were numerous along the bayside. Therefore because of this wealth benefiting the farms,

the villages, in fact the whole county, we can well consider that the old South County had within its confines all the different aspects of life and trade of the Colonial days and upon an unusually generous scale. This latter remark may be further emphasized by considering the amounts levied by the Colonial Government upon the several townships. For a number of years the greatest amount is found against Newport, with South Kingstown second and Providence third.

And if all this leaves some Doubting Thomas to be convinced, let him examine the inventories, those documentary proofs of the life, work and wealth of the families of the South County. All their belongings; their home, household goods, tools and implements, cattle and poultry, rarely their dogs (and never their cats), are all carefully recorded and from these lists we see what manner of men they were and what their occupation. These inventories not only serve as a veritable guide to the formation of a collection such as this, but also provide a means of identification of unfamiliar items.

Of a certainty much so listed has suffered through the passage of years and the various forms of destruction caused by carelessness, neglect and abuse, but we can still hope to find a cheese vat similar to those in the cheese house of Robert Hazard which were reputed to have a capacity of one bushel, and that was Hazard's second size at that! Of course if we should come across the "old tobacco knife and pair of tobacco tongues" which belonged to George Babcock they should at once be taken to the Gilbert Stuart snuff mill, but we would not part with such a flax seed press as the one used by Samuel Wilson, in moments of abandon, to stamp out counterfeit Spanish Milled Dollars upon blanks of base metal made, and willingly supplied, by that master craftsman, albeit rogue, Samuel Casey. This museum ought to have at least one of Rowland Robinson's twelve trenchers and for exhibition purposes, save on high days and holidays, all five of George Hazard's punch bowls. I wonder if his canoe was a dugout, I believe that it was, and I would be interested in some tools of the shipwrights who built the "Sloop South Kingstown . . . Burthen about 100 Tons . . . having been out on a trading Voyage in her return home from . . . a French settlement in Hispaniola . . . was attacked, seized and taken on 18th of March 1741 . . . " We know she was built in South Kingstown and possibly in Hazard's yards at Watson's Pier on Boston Neck.

Now there is another important feature and duty of the South County Museum . . . the preservation of antiquities. You have certainly succeeded in arousing the interest of not only the South County but of the whole State, and the maintenance of this enthusiasm by you will be the means of the preservation of an

untold number of valuable and interesting examples of tools, implements and house-hold gear. Ignorance, which is oftentimes simply interest not aroused, has been responsible for the loss of more evidences of the past than fire and water. The attic, woodshed and the barn loft have probably received more antiques than the museums, received them to be the food for animals and vermin and then to suffer total destruction in the rubbish heap. This is still going on, and can only be stopped by interesting people in the possible historical value of even the most seeming trifle; and by further providing a place for its reception, which you have done.

Therefore, maintain the interest and the knowledge which you have aroused, so that when that terrible aftermath of the sulphur and molasses season is next upon the land, when the broom is dampened and everything is moved out, and put back again, all scrubbed, polished and tidied up; when forgotten things make their unexpected appearance, to be either tucked away once more or ruthlessly thrown out; the householder will pause in the midst of his or her labor and think "Now is this queer looking old contraption any good to the South County Museum" and will there upon bring it here to find out. And my advice to you is to take it and encourage the giver; and you will find much fine metal in the occasional dross.

So once more I wish to offer congratulations to the founders, especially to Mr. Lownes whose modesty can not be allowed to belittle the great tribute due to him. In the establishment of this museum you have created for yourselves, and for those who will surely follow you, a responsibility which you must not shirk. You owe to the future fulfilment of the promise you have made. You will have loyal support; and in the hard work ahead, as in the hard work which you have completed, there will be a just sense of satisfaction . . . and there will be fun.

## Form of Legacy

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*

*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press F. A. Johnson Co.

Providence

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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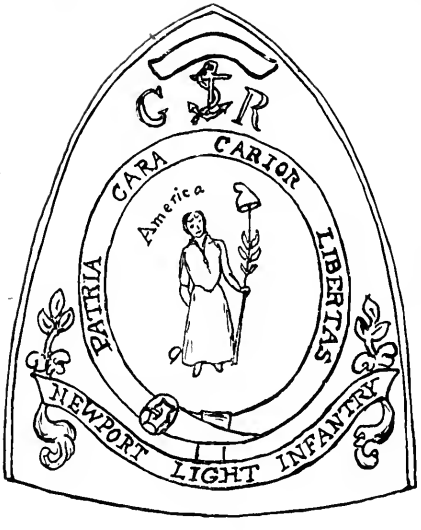


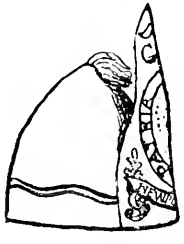

NEWPORT LIGHT INFANTRY CAP

(*See page 97*)

OCT 3 1934
GEOLOGICAL DIVISION

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVII OCTOBER, 1934 No. 4

H. ANTHONY DYER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# Newport Light Infantry Company Insignia

*By* W. L. CALVER

I noticed recently in some publications* a rather indistinct illustration of the cap of the Newport Light Infantry Company, which is now in the Royal United Service Institute at Whitehall, London. I sketched the cap some years ago while I was in London. I am wondering if the full import of the device upon the front of the cap has been noted. America holds in her left hand an olive branch and liberty cap, while in reserve partly concealed in her right hand is a sword. I translate the motto as "Country is dear, but Liberty is dearer;" the very sentiment that Webster decried: "Liberty first and union afterward."

Doubtless upon its ribbon above the anchor was "HOPE." Several members of the Newport Light Infantry became officers in the Continental Line. The cap was probably carried away from Newport by the British in 1780.

**Emblems of Rhode Island*. Illustrations of the Seal, Arms and Flags of Rhode Island, page 29.

# Providence in Civil War Days

*By* THEODORE COLLIER

(*Continued from Page 84*)

The clouds had begun to lift. It was not strange that Washington's Birthday that year, 1862, was observed with more than customary fervor. The hundred guns that saluted the day spoke in tones of confidence and determination, tones which were echoed in the pulpit of the Old First Baptist Meeting House by Dr. Wayland and Bishop Clark. There was no vainglorying nor boasting, no painting of rainbows. True prophets as they were, they gave warning of trials yet to be endured; but through all their words there breathed a sublime faith that would not be denied. And those who listened found their own hope rekindled and their own courage renewed. All over the land that day other Waylands and other Clarks were preaching the same message. And the North took heart again. Something within gave it assurance of final victory; through whatever dark valleys and across whatever bloody fields its path might lead it would end in victory and peace. It was the turning of the spiritual tide.

Yes, the North had a vision of victory. Already it was singing a new song, the song of her who had seen the "Glory of the Coming of the Lord," the "Glory Hallelujah Song," they called it then, first sung in our streets by the boys of the 10th Battery as they marched out.

The winter of discontent was wearing to a close; Spring was at hand, and with Spring new successes: Beaufort, Newbern and Ft. Macon (these to Burnside's credit); Island No. 10; and, greatest of all, the brilliant exploit of the Monitor, a battle which opened a new era in naval warfare. "How John Bull will gaze upon his wooden navy and ask in despair what it is worth!" cried the *Journal*, in exultation. John Bull's navy, no longer wooden, serves a

different purpose just now, and no one of us is disposed to question its worth. But we have no need to excuse our fathers for their taunting; they had endured much at the hands of England, England from whom, among all the nations of Europe, they most expected discerning sympathy.

Apropos of the Monitor, its inventor John Ericsson was promptly claimed by Rhode Island as a descendant of Lief Ericsson, "the first Rhode Islander," A. D. 1000 or thereabouts. As for the Monitor itself, it paid the penalty of fame—it had a hat named after it, and, I presume, likewise a cigar; but I will vouch for the hat.

Burnside's achievements in North Carolina received the grateful recognition of the State that was ever proud to do him honor. Upon his return in the fall he was voted the thanks of the General Assembly and presented with a beautiful sword of ceremony.

But things were going badly on the James. Banks had suffered a reverse; McClellan failed before Yorktown and was compelled to retire. The cry was raised, "The Capital is in danger." The call went forth for new levies. Rhode Island answered with her oldtime promptness. In the words of the *Journal*, "The men sprung to their swords, the women to their needles." Men hurried again from their counting rooms and workshops; students dropped their books and fell into the ranks; mothers who had already sent sons to war heroically bade their other sons God-speed; brides parted tearfully but bravely with their husbands; the sorriest and saddest men were those who could not go. Fifty students of the University volunteered; and seventeen of the High School boys. Within two days a regiment, the 9th, under Col. Robbins, had been sent off; in less than a week, another, under Col. Bliss, had followed.

But even these proved not enough. In July came a second and more urgent call for 300,000 men. The situation seemed desperate. McClellan was retreating, and reinforcements were needed at once, or the whole campaign in Virginia might collapse. For the first time Rhode Island

lagged. It was past believing. Even bounties failed to move her; she seemed indifferent alike to danger and to duty. Day after day, with ever-rising inflection, the *Journal* pleaded for the safety of the Republic and the honor of the State: "Rouse yourselves, men of the North! Choose you, where you will fight, along the Potomac, or on the banks of the Delaware or, mayhap, of the Connecticut!"

But recruits only trickled in. Something must be done, and without delay. A great mass meeting was called in Market Square. For an hour before the time of assembling the bells were rung and the band paraded the streets. The meeting was presided over by the Mayor, Jabez C. Knight; on the platform sat all the Conscript Fathers. The Governor spoke; likewise the Lieutenant Governor, the Bishop and many others, their peers in eloquence. For three hours it went on, the enthusiasm mounting with the temperature,—it was August. It was a "grand success"—as a meeting; but the immediate results were meagre, and it was not until September that a regiment was raised, and not until well into October that it left for the front.

And it is doubtful whether even this could have been accomplished without the spur of fear—Lee had crossed the Potomac—and without the lure of high bounties. Lee's invasion of Maryland left no room for argument; the Government *must* have more men, and must have them at once! Recruiting was made the order of the day. Ward committees were organized; daily meetings were held; every afternoon for a week business was suspended; a recruiting tent was pitched on the Bridge, another at Hoyle Square. The advertising columns of the papers bristled with appeals for volunteers. Subscription lists for bounties were opened; Henry Lippitt offered $1,000 to the ward that first raised its quota; A. C. Barstow offered a second $1,000; Mayor Knight, a third; from a score of wealthy citizens came equally large contributions; in ten days $70,000 was raised; and the city appropriated $100,000 for the relief of soldiers' families. Seeing that we have de-

scribed it, we claim the privilege of naming it: it was Providence's first "drive"; certainly it had all the symptoms of a "drive." It was a success; but it was the last success under the bounty system. What played the mischief with volunteering? Bounties! At first prescribed in moderate doses, as a tonic, they had come to be relied on as a stimulant, with the inevitable consequence, the oftener taken, the more required.

And thus the good people of Providence came to the edge of the second winter of the War. And here let us leave off following the red trail for a bit, and make the round of their city, drop into their homes, and "have a dish of gossip."

The Providence of the '60s was far smaller and less extended than the Providence of today. On the East Side the built-up portion resembled an "L," of which Prospect, Benefit and Main Streets constituted the upright, and Wickenden, the foot. Along Angell and Waterman Streets the houses ran fairly close together, almost if not quite to the Seekonk. From Prospect they crept down over the Hill toward Brown Street; but the section east of Prospect and north of Angell was for the most part sparsely settled; while beyond the Asylum and the Friends School, it was open country, with here and there a farmhouse.

On the west side of the river the city spread out from Market Square fan-wise; west and southwest along Washington, Westminster, Weybosset and Broad Streets; and south along Dyer and Pine. Elmwood was considered pretty well out; Olneyville, or Johnston, lay beyond the city limits; Cranston was a neighboring village.

Where now we have the freight yards there was then a Cove. The "business section" of the city comprised North and South Main Streets, Westminster Street, Market Square and Exchange Place. Says a contemporary description: "Westminster Street is becoming more and more an attractive place of trade because of the showy and beautiful stores that are springing up along its excellent sidewalks.

One by one the old fashioned shop fronts disappear, and the new stores take on a metropolitan air just as naturally as though it was a universal law of trade that success is dependent upon using great panes."

To get about the city one walked or took a hack. The war was half over before the rails of the first street-car line were laid, from Exchange Place to Broad Street, via Dorrance, Westminster and High. Other lines were soon run to Elmwood, Olneyville and Pawtucket, and along Wickenden and Washington Streets. The advent of the horse-cars was an occasion for civic pride; "elegant vehicles!" was the approving verdict; "it is a luxury to ride in them."

It was a town of wealth even then, the taxable property of its 60,000 inhabitants being assessed at nearly $60,000,000. Although on the tax lists there was but one man rated as a millionaire, Alexander Duncan, there were not a few men of what then passed for large fortunes. The war stimulated business, and Providence grew richer year by year. Many were the evidences of prosperity: a new City Hall was built in 1865; the Rhode Island Hospital was chartered in 1863. The real estate market was unusually active, and land values steadily rose. In 1864 sales amounted to nearly $3,000,000. Liberal contributions were made to relief work and local charities; many church mortgages were paid off, the culminating proof of a surplus.

Cotton was then, as now, our great staple of manufacture. The immediate effect of Secession was naturally to restrict trade in the raw material. Receipts, which in 1860 had amounted to 160,000 bales, were reduced in 1861 and 1862 to about 57,000 bales. The capture of New Orleans and of Vicksburg and the opening of the Mississippi relieved the stringency somewhat; but even in 1864 only 107,000 bales were obtained. Prices shot up at the beginning of the war and continued to rise every year. During 1861 the cost of raw cotton advanced from 38c to 68c; during the next year from 68c to 82c; in 1864 there were times when it brought as high as $1.88. Print cloth jumped from

Clock made by Caleb Wheaton of Providence
*Bequeathed to the Society of C. Prescott Knight*

43¾c in 1860, to an average of 27c at the beginning of 1865; once it reached the dizzy height of 38½c. Only with the return of peace did the cotton market recover its equilibrium.

But business found adequate compensation in the demand for war supplies. Shops and factories which, owing to the "panic" of 1857, had been all but idle in 1860, at once became busy; there was employment for everyone. By 1863, partly as a consequence of the drain of men into the army, there was a scarcity of labor in some fields. There were thousands of hands employed in munitions works. The Burnside Rifle Company was turning out 100 rifles a day; the Providence Tool Company 125 Springfields a day, besides bayonets and ramrods; the Providence Gunlock Company, a thousand locks a week. The Schubarth Company was assembling Springfield rifles and sending them off at the rate of nearly two thousand a month; other concerns were manufacturing various parts. The Corliss Compand and the Providence Steam Engine Company were building marine engines and boilers for the navy; the Builders Iron was casting heavy ordnance, 11 inch and 13 inch Dahlgren guns, a gun every four days, besides five tons of shot and shell a day. Here also were cast the powerful guns for Ericsson's second monitor, the "Dictator." But the greatest feat of casting was performed at the Corliss works—two 100 inch cylinders for a gunboat; 34 tons of molten iron, the largest quantity that had ever been poured in New England from a single reservoir, was run into the mould in seventy-five seconds. Providence was ingenious as well as industrious, and produced not a few inventions in the way of guns or shells.

While certain staples, like cotton and iron, were high, and most manufactured articles comparatively costly, provisions were, if not cheap, at least reasonable throughout the greater part of the war. Not until the beginning of '64 was there any material advance in prices. With all her burdens and anxieties the housewife of the early '60s had

much to be thankful for; she was not dogged at every step by the "High Cost of Living"; her calendar contained no wheatless, meatless, porkless days. She did not have to jeopardize her salvation by practicing deception on her men folks, palming off scorpions for eggs; if her son asked for bread she gave him pure wheat. She could afford to. Her Sunday roast cost but 12-17c a pound; steak, sirloin or porterhouse, the same; turkey was considered high at 15c; a pair of woodcock or a pair of partridges could be bought for 50c; lobster sold for 10c a pound; eggs, at 15c a dozen; butter, at 20-30c a pound; lard, at 10c a pound; potatoes, at 60-80c a bushel; flour, at around $7 a barrel. Sugar was fairly high, 9-12c; coffee was cheap, 24c, but of poor quality. These were average prices for 1861 and 1862. From the spring of '63 onward there was a steady but moderate increase, until the winter of '64-'65 when everything advanced sharply: beef to 30c; butter to 60c; eggs to 45c; potatoes to $1.40; white sugar to 30c a pound; flour to $13.00 a barrel; kerosene to $1.00 a gallon.

But although the housewife was not called upon to enlist under the standard of food conservation, it must not be supposed that she was denied the opportunity of serving by saving. Cheerfully she submitted to the necessity of economy; nay, she claimed it as a privilege. Clothes, in particular, were costly; and the problem of dress was no easy one; but woman's wits were equal to it. She "made over" and retrimmed. To save material, she shortened the flounces; she used mousseline de laine in place of silk; or she brightened up her rusty silk with alcohol and "made it do." Here and there we meet a woman who had gone daft, and fondly believed that the war can be won by shears. I recall one who rushed into print with the announcement of a grand discovery—$1,000,000 a year could be saved by the women of the North, by simply making their dresses to escape the ground by one inch, instead of letting them trail on the ground two inches. If that woman had only had our present fashion plates, she would have saved the whole cost of the war and extinguished the national debt besides.

Paris fashions decreed the disappearance of bonnets. Birds, boughs of trees, kitchen gardens, all, all gone!—"In April," says a contemporary, "every lady wore upon her head the foliage, the fruits, the flying things of an island in the Pacific. In June, the astonished opera glass explores the brilliant crowd almost in vain to find one vestige of a bonnet. The bonnet has retreated to the extreme rear; it barely flanks the extreme right and left wings of the world and voluminous coiffures into which fashionable beauty twists, puffs, expands and frizzles its own hair, and all the other hair upon which it can lay its hands."

But, even in war-times, it was not all work and worry, buying and selling, fighting and praying. Men were not always orating or enlisting, or hammering out great guns; and women who sat down with unvarying regularity to sew, occasionally rose up to play. How did they amuse themselves? There was the theatre, and it had much to offer as regards both merit and variety. They might go to see Charlotte Cushman in various Shakespearean roles, or Laura Keene in "Our American Cousin" and "She Stoops to Conquer"; or Wallack and the two Davenports in "Othello" and "Richard III"; or Wilkes Booth in "Hamlet"; or the "charming Maggie Mitchell," as "Katie O'Sheal." They could feast their eyes on "Little Dolly Dutton, the tiniest, most beautiful, most fairy-like and lovely specimen of female humanity in the world"; or they could run with the hounds in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," or replenish their stock of jokes at "Christie's Minstrels." Or, if they delighted in the spectacular, they went to see the "Polyorama of the War," a sort of Mid-Victorian "movie," except that it was the spectator, not the picture, that did the moving. At other times, Tom Thumb, Commodore Nutt, Herrmann, or Artemus Ward held the stage. "Perfesser" Somebody-or-other came with his "Laughing gas," producing "sensations delightful beyond all the power of words to express." One young lady under the influence of the gas recited "an orig-

inal poem on Rhode Island." The place of the circus was taken by the "Hippozoonomodon" and the "Athleclympimantheum."

Lovers of music patronized the Italian Opera, which came every year; or now and then they chartered a special train and went up to Boston for an evening. In '63 a German Company came and sang, three successive evenings, "Martha," "Faust," and "Der Freischutz." It was Providence's first "operatic season" of its own, and it was justly proud of the distinction.

For the improvement of the mind there were lectures, the Lyceum series, the Mechanics Institute series, and many others besides. Henry Ward Beecher, George William Curtis, Wendell Phillips, Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, — there were giants in those days—came repeatedly to speak on the causes and issues of the War. John Lord's historical lectures and Bayard Taylor's travel-talks were popular. "Timothy Titcomb," on literary subjects, was always heard with delight. The "red-hottest" speaker who came to Providence during the War was, I believe, Parson Brownlow, who delivered a slashing lecture on "Rotten Monarchies and Live Republics."

The University reflected in every phase of her life the influence of the War. From first to last there was never a call for volunteers that did not bring Brown boys hurrying to the colors. By September, 1862 half the college had enlisted, and, said President Sears, "all the rest of us, Professors and students alike, are ready to go whenever needed." But what sort of soldiers were they? Were they better or worse for "college"? How did their "higher education" stand the acid test of war? Let a contemporary testify: "What patience and fortitude, what bravery and coolness, what power of adaptation to new circumstances, what readiness to obey, what skill in command, have these young men, fresh from their studies, evinced. How has their character shone forth, the ripe fruit, the most splendid vindi-

cation of severe academic training and discipline? During this war, when perhaps it was least expected by many, our higher schools of learning have shown themselves, as never before, entitled to the gratitude and affectionate support of the Nation."

Commencement had always been a considerable event in the life of the community as well as of the University. But the commencements of '61-'65 were invested with an extraordinary interest and celebrated with a fervor heightened by patriotism. In 1861, an honorary degree was conferred upon Col. Burnside. In 1862, the valedictorian appeared upon the stage in uniform; the dinner was graced by the presence of the Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island; and Governor Andrew of Massachusetts delivered an eloquent address. In 1863 the principal orator was George William Curtis, who spoke on "Peace Through Victory"; and the youthful John Hay, who had returned for his fifth anniversary reunion, read a poem. It was in '63, too, that the portrait of General Burnside, which now hangs in Sayles Hall, was presented to the University. Shortly afterward portraits of Col. Christopher Greene and Surgeon Solomon Drowne, both Revolutionary heroes, and of General Rodman, who fell at Antietam, were added to our hall of fame.

The never-to-be-forgotten event of 1864 was the Centennial Celebration. Hundreds of Alumni returned; the array of distinguished guests was imposing; the procession to the old Meeting House was an impressive sight. General Burnside was everywhere greeted with applause. Dr. Sears reviewed the history of the University; George William Curtis, Governor Chase of Ohio, and many others delivered addresses. Goldwin Smith, who came as the spokesman of English Liberalism to America, was the recipient of an honorary degree, a grateful and fitting recognition of his staunch advocacy of the cause of the Union at the bar of English public opinion. John Hay could not be present, but sent a poem which was read by Dr. Angell. The celebration

was in every way worthy of the institution and in keeping with the heroic spirit of that stern and glorious time.

And now with the revolving months we have come to the fall of '64. Two years have passed since we left the City Fathers orating in the Market Place, two years compact with tremendous events. But lack of time forbids us to return and rehearse the tale. Nor is there need; for one day was like unto another, and life moved on, now faster, now slower, in grooves already worn deep by war. Time fails, and so we must hurry past Antietam, where General Rodman fell, and the brave young Ives; past the bloody slopes of Fredericksburg, where Burnside, deserving better fortune, met repulse, yet without loss of honor, and where Curtis and Sayles found a glorious death; past Salem Heights, where the Second Rhode Island held the right, and won imperishable laurels; past Gettysburg, where our Batteries, under Hazard, Arnold, Jastram and Bucklin, stood their ground under the hottest fire and gave back shot for shot. Nor can we stay to listen to the bells that rang out the glorious news of Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Port Hudson; nor to the song of deliverance that went up from a people from whose hearts a great weight had been lifted; nor to the prayers of thanksgiving, in which, with their President, they prayed to be "led through paths of repentance and submission to the Divine Will back to the perfect enjoyment of Union and fraternal peace."

Once more the country was called upon to choose a President. One name rose spontaneously to the lips of loyal men. Only he who had led them thus far through the wilderness of war could be trusted to lead them into the promised land of peace. "The proper person to succeed Abraham Lincoln is Abraham Lincoln," they said; "he must be re-elected." And Rhode Island set about to do her full share toward re-electing him. The campaign culminated in the great rally of October 29. Never before had such a gathering been held in Rhode Island. From far and near they came, 15,000 persons, pouring into Market Square,

filling every inch of space from the What Cheer building to Turk's Head, and overflowing into the side streets. The Square was ablaze with lanterns and candles. Mayor Doyle presided, and Senator Sprague made the first speech. Senator Anthony followed; then Abraham Payne, Amos C. Barstow, Thomas A. Jenckes, and C. A. Updike. General Burnside also spoke, and was greeted with tumultuous applause.

Four days later, on the Wednesday preceding the election, occurred the great parade. Let an eye-witness describe the scene: "Every part of the State had its representation. Men were here from the shores of the Pawcatuck and the Little Narragansett, greeting their political brethren from Buck Hill and Chopmist. The hardy fishermen on Point Judith Pond countermarched by the delegations from Branch River and the Beacon Pole. Men from Escoheag, Racoon Hill and Nooseneck gave cheerful countenance and a hearty God-speed to their fellow patriots from Mt. Hope and Kickamuit. Seaconnet rolled up its loyal columns until they met and mingled with our younger freemen from beyond the Seekonk." It was an army with banners; and on their banners were inscribed such sentiments as, "The rail of Secession is almost split; let Father Abraham have one more blow"; "The States that will go for Abe and Andy,—the United States"; "New England's triple Bs: Burnside, Butler and Banks";

> "To save the Union
> We want no Quack
> But trust again to Abe
> And not to Little Mac."

This last recalls one of their campaign songs,

"Oh, can the tale be true, boys?
We blush with shame to tell
Of the Chicago crew, boys;
And do you mark them well!
Our Country's faith was bartered there
By the unholy tribe;
But we the guilt will never share,
Nor take the Southern bribe.

For good old Father Abraham
We'll work through sun and rain;
For good old Father Abraham
We'll work with might and main."

And after the parade they went to the mammoth tent, which had been set up behind the Cove, and listened to speeches until night fell. Little wonder that Rhode Island voted almost two to one for "Abe and Andy."

The war was drawing to a close. Atlanta fell in December 1864; Charleston, in the following February. Sherman's March had broken the back of the South; the collapse of the Confederacy was but a matter of time. Lee, consummate strategist though he was, could not forever hold out against Grant's terrible pounding. The capture of Charleston was celebrated with a passionate fervor, tinged with bitterness at the recollection of Fort Sumter.

But the rejoicing over the capture of Charleston was as nothing compared with the outburst of rapture which followed the announcement of the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee. "The Confederacy is dead; the Union still lives," was the exulting cry; "The stars which have been obscured on the old flag are bursting forth again in all their old radiance and glory." It was ten o'clock at night when the news was received; the next moment it was spreading like wildfire. The bells began to ring; Grace Church chimes struck up "Yankee Doodle"; the Marine

Artillery fired a salute. All the city came running into the market place. The crowd surged up to the *Journal* office. General Burnside was already there, and Senator Anthony, Mr. Updike, and Mr. Angell. Speeches and wild cheers! Providence was fairly beside itself with joy. "We never saw anything like it before," said the *Journal*; "It was good natured delirium; it was joyous frenzy. Men hardly knew what to do to manifest their delight. Think of grave, gray-headed, elderly citizens walking solemnly along the streets, pulling at doorbells with a nervous twitch, as if to say, 'Why don't you get up and rejoice?' The moment anyone shouted, everybody within hearing responded. If one struck up a song, everybody sang. If one started 'John Brown,' all were ready to declare that 'his soul's marching on.' If a solemn hymn of praise to God was begun, instantly, with heads reverently uncovered, all joined. . . . Some one proposes a procession, and instantly Westminster Street is half filled with the throng, singing and shouting, marching, they knew not where, they cared not where. If Governor Dyer had led the way to Pawtucket or Woonsocket, they were then in the mood to follow. The moment a fire was kindled, everybody set about rolling boxes and barrels from every alley and lane within a quarter of a mile of the bridge. Some one shouts that the recruiting booths are no longer needed, and they straightway are turned over into the fire to 'recruit' the flames while police look on with amazement, and the steam fire-engines whistle their applause. . . . Such over-flowing, irrepressible, unpremeditated, spontaneous humor and jollity we never saw in a crowd before."

And then — ashes for beauty! Once more the iron-tongued bells and the deep-throated guns summon the citizens to the market place; this time in solemn, measured tones. He is dead; the Nation's Chief is dead; and it is as if the heart of the Nation itself had stopped beating. Horror and grief are written on every face. Not much is said; words seem feeble and empty; only tears can fully express

such sorrow. Silently the flags are lowered; the streets are hung with black; there is no house so mean and poor but it has its bit of crepe. Rich and poor, high and low, are all one in common bereavement. It is as if the Great Death had come nigh them all.

On the morrow they repair to their churches for such consolation as only religion can give. As evening comes on they gather in front of the home of the beloved Dr. Wayland, and there, in the midst of a pouring rain, stand silent and attentive, while the Venerable Father speaks the healing word which brings light out of darkness and fills them with a great peace. With trembling voices they sing, "My country, 'tis of thee," and "Praise God from whom all blessings flow"; then silently descend the hill, still sorrowing, but not as those who have no hope. It was Easter Sunday!

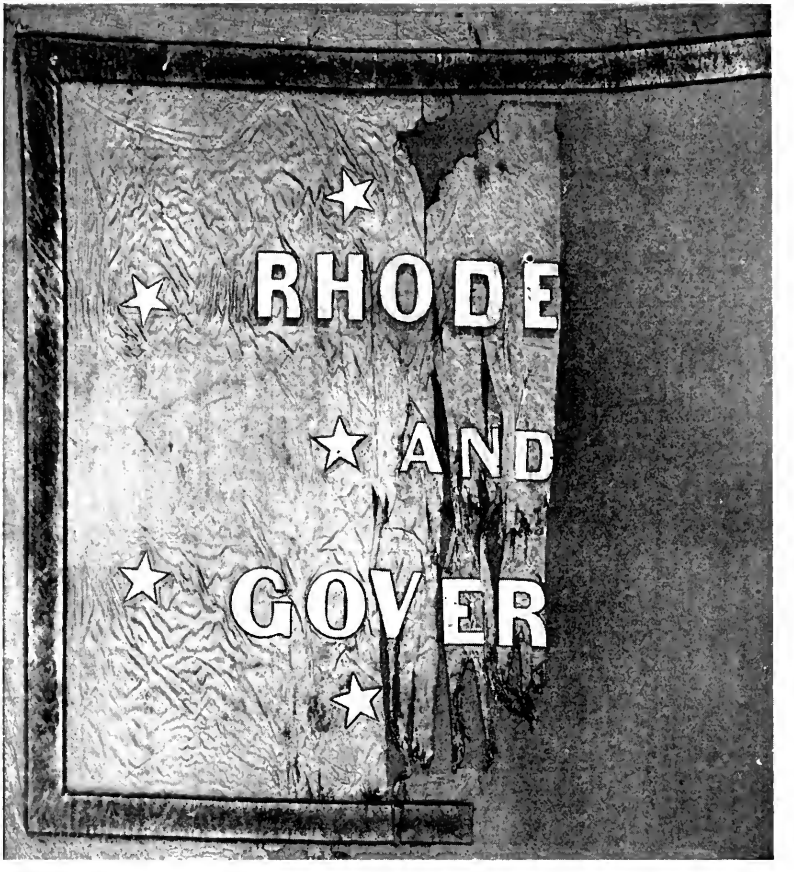
On Wednesday, the 19th, Lexington Day, they joined with their fellow-countrymen all over the broad land in paying funeral honors to their beloved dead. All business was suspended; the schools were closed; services were held in all the churches. And then, with muffled drums and draped flags, soldiers and citizens marched in solemn procession, through the principal streets of the city, and finally into Exchange Place, where they had so often gathered; and there they gave a last salute and furled their standards, on the very spot where, just four years before to a day, the boys of the First Rhode Island had unfurled the banner committed to their keeping by the loyal women of Providence.

# The Providence Horse Guards Flag of 1842

Brigadier General John J. Richards recently placed in the Society's museum the historic flag of the Horse Guards of Providence which was carried in 1842 at the time of the Dorr War. The flag is of bright green silk 42 inches by 32 inches and is illustrated in this issue of the COLLECTIONS. The design is painted on two pieces of silk which were sewed back to back, thus making the flag.

One side shows a man on horseback with drawn sword, a motive drawn from a picture of Napoleon crossing the Alps. The figures are gold, shaded with the detail in darker gold and scarlet. The letters which are gold, shaded with scarlet, are about 1½ inches tall. The horse and horseman face the fly of the flag. The other side of the flag, which was also of bright green silk, bore the inscription RHODE ISLAND AND ITS GOVERNMENT within an orle of eight stars, and with two additional stars filling the vacant spaces at the ends of the middle text line. The letters of the word RHODE ISLAND are gold, edged with scarlet, and shaded with orange red, the other letters are gold, edged with scarlet, and the stars gold, edged with scarlet, and shaded with blue. The design on each side of the flag is enclosed within a rectangular border stripe of gold, edged with scarlet. The flag was edged with gold fringe.

HORSE GUARDS FLAG




HORSE GUARDS FLAG
(Reverse)

# Cumberland Seal

The ancient seal of the Town Council of Cumberland appears on a number of documents in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The device is a garb ensigned by a dove with wings raised, between a snake palewise undy contourne and a lion rampant, with around the circumference of the seal the motto STRENGTH PEACE PLENTY WISDOM. The seal is oval being 11/16 by 3/4 inches. It appears in black wax, in red wax and in paper, on documents dated 1786 to 1790 in the volume of Ballou Papers.

One document contains the following sentence: "Given at a Town Council held in and for the Town of Cumberland aforesaid the twenty-first day of June Anno Domini 1788. . . . Sealed with the Seal of the said Town Council," thus definitely identifying the seal as that of the Town Council of Cumberland.

For other Rhode Island municipal seals, see EMBLEMS OF RHODE ISLAND, published by the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1930.

# Privateers of 1798

"Abstract of all the Applications made to Jereh. Olney, Collector of the Customs for the District of Providence, for Commissions for private armed Vessels, which were issued previous to this 18th. Day of January 1799.

The Commissions are not Numbered; nor were the Boys distinguished in the Applications, from the Men.

Ship Palmyra, commander Cornelius Sowle; 2nd officer Edward Mark; 3rd officer Charles L. Hyatt; 227 tons 49/95ths; 10 three pounders, 4 eighteen pound Cannonades; 20 men; owned by Jno. I. Clark and Wm. F. Megee of Providence, R. Island; date of commission 12th Oct. 1798.

Ship Dolphin; commander John Dunwell; 2nd officer Geo. W. Allen; no second mate; 139 tons; 2 four pounders; 12 men; owned by Stephen Dexter of Providence, R. Island; date of commission 16th Oct. 1798.

Ship Independence; commander Isaac Parker; 2nd officer Richard Hutchins; 3rd officer Wm. Armington; 150 tons; 20/95ths; 12 four pounders; 20 men; owned by Geo. Lane of Charleston, Massachusetts; date of commission 12 December 1798.

Ship Rebecca; commander Benja. Tayer; 2nd officer Richard Brown; 3rd officer John Benthall; 231 tons; 62/95ths; 2 six pounders; 18 men; owned by Stephen Dexter of Providence, R. I., date of commission 15 December 1798.

Custom House, Providence 18th Jany. 1799, Jereh. Olney Coll."

(From original manuscript in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Olney Papers III, 67.)

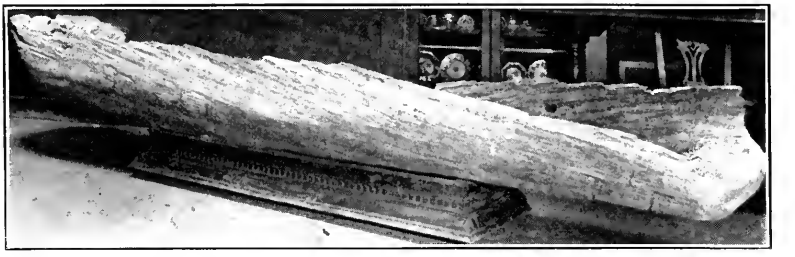
# The Ponaganset Dugout

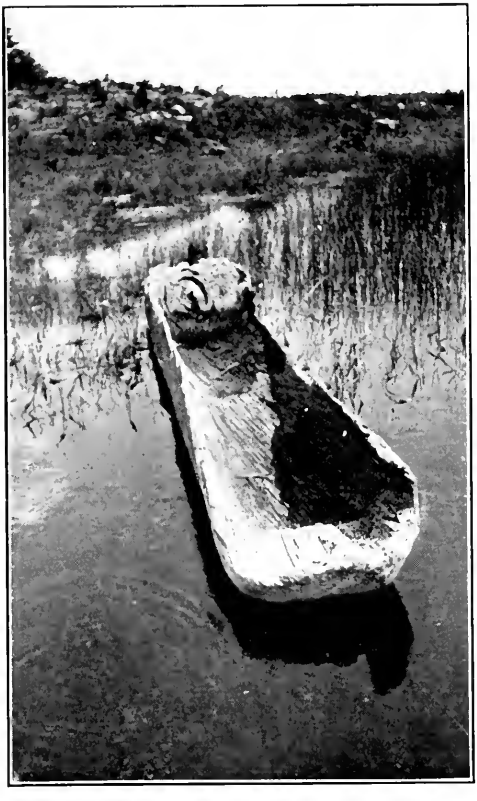
A dugout recently found at the bottom of Ponaganset Pond in western Glocester, R. I., was, through the thoughtfulness and efforts of Mr. John C. Brown of Woonsocket, placed in the lecture hall of the Rhode Island Historical Society where it has been viewed by a large number of interested persons.

Five illustrations of the dugout appear on the accompanying pages, four showing the dugout floating on the waters of Ponaganset Pond and one showing it in the lecture hall of the Society. The dugout is about 13 feet 9 inches long, 28 inches wide at one end and 22 inches at the other. The bottom has been smoothed to make a flat surface. The log, which is chestnut, was hollowed out to a depth of about 14 inches, leaving the bottom about 4 inches thick at the quarter and tapering in thickness to a couple of inches near the ends. The sides of the dugout have been partly broken away by time and wear.

Dr. Harry Lee Barnes, in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* for July 1922, page 85, recorded that a dugout was found many years ago in Wallum Lake, about eight miles north of Ponaganset Pond.

Accounts of the finding of the dugout were published in the *Providence Sunday Journal* of July 15, 1934, and in the *Evening Bulletins* of July 17 (country edition) and July 23.





# New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

An article on the *Gazette Francoise* of Newport, 1708-81, by Allen J. Barthold appeared in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1934, and also was reprinted in pamphlet form.

*The New England Quarterly* for June 1934 contains an article on *Roger Williams and Massachusetts* by George Albert Stead.

*Genealogy of the Descendants of William Turpin Thayer of Bellingham* (Mass.), by Luis Thayer Ojeda is a pamphlet of 43 pages recently printed at Valparaiso, Chile.

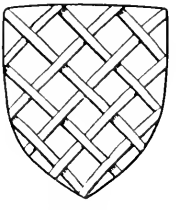
*The Narragansett Planters* by William Davis Miller is a pamphlet of 69 pages, dealing with the early history of the South County, reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society.

# Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. George A. Dame
Mr. Charles A. Keller

# Colonial Heraldry

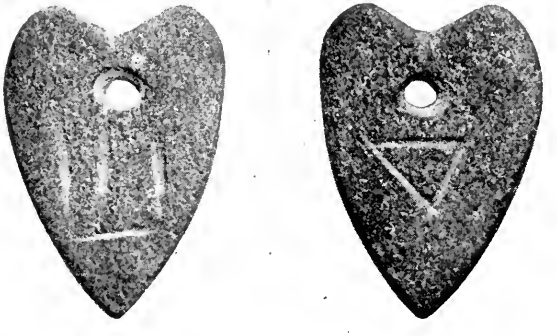


BALLOU

On a deed* from Joseph Lapham to Abner Ballou of Cumberland, R. I., dated December 24, 1772, Lapham sealed with an armorial seal which bears the Ballou arms. The arms are fretty. The Bellew arms as given by Burke are: Sable fretty or. The crest on this seal is two flaming hearts which differs from the crest as given by Burke.

*Ballou Papers, p. 13, R. I. H. S.

"BIRD STONE," TWO AND A HALF INCHES LONG, FOUND ON CHAMPLIN FARM, CHARLESTOWN



PENDANT, TWO AND A HALF INCHES TALL, FOUND ON GREAT ISLAND IN POINT JUDITH POND

This pendant shows the influence of European civilization

*In the collection of Daniel P. Sherman*

JASPER SPEAR HEAD, FIVE INCHES LONG, FOUND NEAR BARBER POND, SOUTH KINGSTOWN

KNIFE, TEN INCHES LONG, FOUND AT ESCOHEAG HILL, R. I.

*In the collection of Daniel P. Sherman of Wakefield, R. I.*

GORGET, FOUR AND THREE-QUARTERS INCHES LONG, FOUND ON SHERMAN FARM, POINT JUDITH POND, NARRAGANSETT

*In the collection of Daniel P. Sherman*

# The Minutes of the Westconnaug Purchase

*Transcribed by* THEODORE G. FOSTER

(*Concluded from page 61*)

At a Meeting of the Proprietors and Owners of the Lands in Westquanaug Purchase held in the House of Fleet Brown in Scituate in said Purchase on the First of May 1779 . . . By virtue of a Warrant at the Request of Sundry of the Proprietors of said Purchase Signed by John Westcot Esq Dated the 12th Day of March 1779

George Taylor chosen Moderator
Fleet Brown Chosen Proprietors Clerk

Voted that the Meeting be adjourned to the last Monday of October next at 1 °Clock P M at the Dwelling House of Fleet Brown in Scituate

Fleet Brown Proprietors Clerk

Whereas Request hath been made to Me one of the States Justices of Peace in the town of Scituate in the county of Providence &c by Seven of the Purchasers and Owners of the Lands of Westquanaug in Scituate requesting a Warrant may be issued to warn said Owners to meet together at the House at Mr Fleet Brown's in Scituate in Westquanaug on Saturday the First Day of May next at one °Clock in said Day in order to choose a New Clerk to the said Purchase in the Room of Thomas Brown Esq Deceased

These are therefore in the Name of the State of Rhode Island &c

To the Town Serjeant or any of the constables in the Town of Scituate forthwith or Signt hereof to warn and give timely Notice to the Owners of the Westquanaug Lands to meet at the House of Mr Fleet Brown in Scituate in said Westquanaug on Saturday the First Day of May next at one of the Clock in the afternoon of said Day in order to Choose a new Clerk to said Purchase in the Room of Thomas Brown Esq Deceased: also to do any other Business that may concern the Safety and Well Ordering said Owners and Purchasers Lands and Records Hereof fail not But make Return of this Warrant with your Doings at said Time and Place above Given under my Hand & Seal at Scituate the 12th Day of March A D 1779

John Westcot Jus Peace

Providence Scituate April 23d 1779 Then by Virtue of this within Warrant I notified the within mentioned Proprietors or Owners of Lands in said Purchase to meet to gether at Time and Place within mentiond as the Law directs Wm Tyler Jun Const

The Two foregoing Papers contain a true Copy of the Original Warrant and the Officers Return

Fleet Brown Proprietors Clerk

The End

## Form of Legacy

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*

*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

Providence

# Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XXVIII JANUARY, 1935 No. 1

JACKET WORN BY OLIVER HAZARD PERRY
AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE
*In the Society's Museum.*

Issued Quarterly

68 Waterman Street, Providence, Rhode Island

F76
.R47
no. 26

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVIII JANUARY, 1935 No. 1

H. ANTHONY DYER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# Roger Williams' Contribution to Modern Thought

*By* FREDERICK BERNAYS WIENER

*Read before the Society on February 5, 1931*

On the 5th of February, in the year 1631, the good ship "Lyon" dropped anchor off Nantasket; and John Winthrop noted in his Journal that among her passengers she carried one "Mr. Williams, a godly minister."

Today we celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of Roger Williams' arrival in America. But I take it it is not simply to mark the passage of time that we are met tonight. When we celebrate the coming to the New World of him who founded our State, necessarily we must commemorate the ideas and thoughts which he expounded, and the principles with which his name is inseparably associated. These principles, those ideas and thoughts, still live today—not as archaic survivals, but as vital, time-tested truths. We believe in them today, and I suppose that means they are modern. That is an adjective which lately has been much

abused. For a time, every new fad, every shiny novelty, every ephemeral bit of superficial froth, has called itself modern; and consequently the word has been suspect, and, under the circumstances, doubtless rightly so. But I mean by modern, in its best sense, that which combines the utmost of enlightenment with the utmost respect for ancient truths —for there are ancient truths as well as ancient prejudices —which is to say, the utmost progressiveness compatible with progress.

So much has been written about Roger Williams—and doubtless much more said, which was not deemed worth preserving—that one approaches the subject with hesitation, almost with reluctance. But there may still be justification for an attempt. For, like an ancient formula grown meaningless with constant repetition, so has it been with the story of Roger Williams: the obvious facts of his life have been so often told that their reiteration almost has deadened our sensibilities, and we are in danger, in our preoccupation with the story, of losing and forgetting its significance. Too often our reaction to Roger Williams is a condescending shrug: "Great man," we murmur, "far ahead of his time," —quite oblivious to the fact that he is still in many aspects ahead of our time as well, and that for a number of his ideas we ourselves are not, for the most part, wholly prepared.

I shall not try, in attempting to outline some of those ideas, to "reinterpret" Roger Williams. There is something false and specious about that term, and generally it is synonymous with "misinterpret." Just as a biography inevitably shades into an autobiography, so a history usually shows more than traces of the historian; and it is matter of common knowledge that historical writing has often been more actuated by a desire to prove a thesis already formulated, than by the scientific urge to discover "*Wie es eigentlich gewesen war.*" I shall hope, therefore, to escape the charge of presenting the subject to fit my own preconceived notions; and equally, I hope to avoid that untruthful gloss which, so it seems, all too often accompanies celebrations. Certainly

it is not necessary to have to warn this Society of the dangers of the "filio-pietistic" approach to the past, or to remind you, as Charles Francis Adams had to remind his colleagues in Massachusetts, that historical societies are after all scientific bodies. It may be that the ancestor worship to the north and east of us is one of those bits of Chinese culture that the Canton merchants brought back to Salem; I do not know. But I have observed that it is easier to speak of the founders of Rhode Island without the gloss of reverent and euphemistic apology than it is to treat of those of Massachusetts, and I conclude, and doubtless you will not quarrel with the conclusion, that the former were a more attractive set of people.

I shall not undertake to tell you of Roger Williams' life. But I do wish to linger for a moment on what for us is perhaps the most significant event, and the most dramatic, of all his significant and dramatic life: I mean his banishment from Massachusetts.

Williams' banishment—or enlargement, as it is more usually referred to in a neighboring Commonwealth—came as the climax of a storm that had been brewing for some time. No sooner had Williams returned to Salem from Plymouth in the fall of 1633 than he began that almost constant dispute with the theocracy which did not end until he found himself wandering in the snow, cast out into the wilderness. I shall not treat in any detail of his minor disputes—his discussion of whether women should go veiled, his arguments that the English churches were un-Christian, his contention that the meetings of ministers would engender a "presbytery or superintendency to the prejudice of the church's liberty." The best that can be said of some of these manifestations of an admittedly contentious temperament is that they are incidents of Williams' "*Sturm und Drang*" period. Not much more can be said for his insistence (which stirred John Endecott to action) that the red cross of St. George must be cut out of the flag. It is with Williams'

remaining beliefs, which more directly caused his exile, that we have our concern; and these stand on other ground.

Roger Williams proclaimed that the Massachusetts Charter was invalid as a grant of title, in that it failed to recognize the rights of the Indians; and he announced certain of its recitals, declaring King James to be the first Christian prince to have discovered this country, to be solemn public lies. These declarations, in the face of news that a governor-general might be appointed, wrought consternation among the magistrates. When they then attempted to secure the loyalty of the people through an Oath of fidelity, they were met by Williams' contention that the oath was an act of prayer, and that it should not be tendered an unregenerate man. Accordingly, in order to punish the Salem church for the conduct of its minister, the magistrates refused to set off land to it; Williams appealed to the other churches, and roundly denounced the authorities. And, furthermore, he had attacked the very foundations of the theocracy; he had declared, in words that Winthrop has preserved for us, "That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace." (The first table of Decalogue, of course, consists of the first four Commandments which define the duties of man to God; the second table deals with duties between man and man.)

There was little more for the General Court to do. It appointed disputants to argue with Williams, knowing full well that these could not possibly hope to convince him. The solemn farce dragged on a while; the only issue, in this as in all other state trials, everywhere and in all ages, was, "Is this the kind of man that we want to get rid of?" And as that question had already been answered, the judgment of banishment was passed, "all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence."

Was the banishment illegal? Or was it justified by that clause of the charter which gave the Massachusetts Bay power "to expulse all such person and persons as should at

any time attempt or enterprise detriment or annoyance to their plantation or its inhabitants"? For myself, I incline to think that it was thus justified, that the action taken was perfectly proper from a legal standpoint. Whether it was a wise thing to do is quite another question, as I shall hope presently to show; but it is worth noting that a great many of the tyrannies of this world have proceeded under color of law. It is now abundantly clear, for instance, that Parliament was well within its powers in taxing the Colonies; and lest that remark should unduly alarm you, I would recall to your attention that almost all of the colonial lawyers were Tories. Their legal learning told them Parliament was right, and they had not the wit to realize how wrong it was none the less.

But back to Roger Williams. The other, and perhaps most burning question connected with his banishment, is whether the cause of his expulsion was political or religious. On this point controversy has ranged long and fiercely. The loyal Rhode Islander would stoutly maintain that the causes were purely religious; the son of Massachusetts would as vehemently assert that the operative reasons were entirely political. It seems to me that neither is wrong, and that each is partially right. But in truth, it is impossible thus to dissect the matter, for in a theocracy the religious and political are inseparably and indistinguishably blended. That is of the essence of theocracy. Political, religious—those are simply two aspects of the same thing, and to insist on one to the total exclusion of the other is not of much assistance either in posing or in solving the problem.

It is interesting in passing to observe that a contemporary called the Massachusetts practice of punishing religious opinions "as breaches of the civill peace and disturbances to the Commonwealth," "a pretty fine distinction to deceive themselves with." Those were the words, not of a follower of Roger Williams, but of the Rev. Thomas Edwards, an adversary, who in his time attacked Williams under the resounding title, "Casting down of the last and strongest

hold of Satan; or, A treatise against toleration and pretended liberty of conscience."

I think it may be said with perfect truth that Williams was expelled for spreading ideas that were unpopular with the rulers of the colony, and for uttering those ideas publicly. The strongest evidence in support of this statement is the record of the General Court itself, which surely would not understate Williams' offenses:

> "Whereas [it recites] Mr Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged divers newe dangerous opinions, against the aucthoritie of magistrates, as also writ lres of defamacon, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviccon & yet mainetaineth the same without retraccon, it is therefore ordered that the said Mr Williams shall depte out of this juristiccon within sixe weekes nexte ensueing * * *"

Now, what were these "newe and dangerous opinions"? It is there that we must seek the cause of his banishment, and it seems to me that the evidence supports the classical Rhode Island view, that Williams was expelled for his advocacy of Soul Liberty, for his assertion that the magistrate should not punish for matters of conscience. Of late years this view has been questioned, and modern writers have all but demolished it. But let us see.

Let us begin with the record. That recites that Williams spoke "against the aucthoritie of magistrates." This is entirely consistent with the notion that he would have limited "the aucthoritie of magistrates" to temporal matters; but obviously it is ambiguous. Let us then go beyond the record, and examine unofficial testimony.

Winthrop in his Journal noted down the "divers dangerous opinions" for which Williams was under question, and first among them he put that respecting liberty of conscience, in words which I have already quoted. That would seem to be a strong indication of the importance Winthrop attached to the matter.

Then there is John Cotton, a power in the theocracy, who also catalogued Williams' opinions. One of those was, in

Cotton's words, "that Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies, and Goods and outward state of man &c."; and Williams himself agreed that Cotton's summary was accurate.

We have then four sources: the record, Winthrop, Cotton, and Williams (concurring with Cotton). The last three are all agreed as to Liberty of Conscience being a cause of the banishment, and the record does not dispute them. It seems to me that the cumulative effect is very weighty, and while this analysis can hardly be the last word in so contested a matter, I find it more convincing than the usual inquiry which seeks to divide the problem into political or religious.

And after all, though Williams' other arguments were annoying, and might cause the Bay trouble at home, his plea for Liberty of Conscience shook at the very foundation of theocracy. The Massachusetts leaders saw that clearly, and hence they banished him—not so much, perhaps, by way of punishment, but more to protect their anomalous institution. They knew their church-state could not weather the storm of Roger Williams' ideas, and so against those they never relaxed their strict quarantine.

I shall not now essay to trace the origins of the idea or religious liberty, or to seek the faint beginnings of the thought that church and state were better separated. Well before Williams various individuals had stumbled upon the idea, had published it in fugitive pamphlets, or, perhaps, disseminated it within small circles. But Roger Williams, though not the first to discover the principles of religious liberty, was the first to proclaim them in all their plenitude, and to build upon them a political state. Today we regard religious liberty and separation of church and state as axiomatic—which is to say modern—and we find it difficult to conceive of living under any other system. It is such a sensible solution, and such a simple one. Even so sharp a critic as Professor Harold Laski — who would be called modern

under any definition—believes it to be the only manageable way.

> "I cannot avoid the conclusion [he writes in 'Liberty in the Modern State'] that in this historic realm only the American principle of complete separation and non-interference can produce freedom. Unless state and church pursue an independent path, liberty is sacrificed; for either fusion or partnership will, in fact, involve a conflict for supremacy."

And this "American principle," I need not remind you, was the principle formulated by Roger Williams in 1644, in his work, "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience." Here are his own words:

> "All Civill States with their Officers of Justice in their respective constitutions and administrations are proved essentially Civill, and therefore not Judges, Governours or Defendeurs of the Spirituall or Christian state or Worship. * * * It is the will and command of God, that (since the coming of his Sonne the Lord Jesus) a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Antichristian consciences and worships, bee granted to all men in all Nations and Countries: and they are onely to bee fought against with that Sword which is only (in soule matters able to conquer, to wit, the Sword of Gods Spirit, the Word of God. * * * God requireth not an uniformity of Religion to be inacted and inforced in any civill state; Which inforced uniformity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of civill Warre, ravishing of consciences, persecuting of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hypocrisie and destruction of millions of souls. * * * An inforced uniformity of Religion throughout a Nation or civill state, confounds the Civill and Religious, denies the principles of Christianity and civility, and Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh. * * * True civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or Kingdom, notwithstanding the permission of divers and contrary consciences, either of Jews or Gentiles."

But Williams understood fully that authority was necessary in civil things. You will remember, even when he first announced that the jurisdiction of the state should not extend to religious matters, that he made the important qualification: "* * * otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace." It is a matter for admiring amazement, for me at any rate, that Roger Williams should have seen so

clearly, at the very start, the limitations of the new, astonishing idea which he proclaimed. I marvel at the wisdom of the man, that he should, long before the notion could possibly be tried out, foresee its probable and proper extent. That he should later discover it, is, of course, not half so remarkable, although his phrasing of the problem has become classical. Let me read you his "Parable of the Ship of State":

> "There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both papists and protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which proposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the papists, protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers and worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, toward the common charges of defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace and preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, nor corrections nor punishments, no laws nor orders, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits."

Another passage is equally well known:

> "The Church or company of worshippers (whether true or false) is like unto a Body of Colledge of Physitians in a Citie; like unto a Corporation, Society, or company of East-Indie or Turkie Merchands, or any other Societie or Company in London: which Companies may hold their Courts, keep their Records, hold disputations; and in matters concerning their societie, may dissent, divide, break into Schismes and Factions,

> sue and implead each other at the Laws, yea wholly break up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the peace of the Citie not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the essence or being of the Citie, and so the well-being and peace thereof is essentially distinct from those particular Societies; the Citie-Courts, Citie-Lawes, Citie-punishments distinct from theirs. The Citie was before them, and stands absolute and intire, when such a Corporation or Society is taken down."

The passages already quoted deal with the separation of state and church in practice. In theory, maintained Williams, the two were also separate, and for the good reason that their aims were different. The magistrate tended the bodies of men; the minister to their souls. And hence a state church, or a church-state, was a confusion.

> "For as it would be confusion for the church to censure such [civil] matters, and so such persons as belong to the church: So it is confusion for the state to punish spirituall offenders, for they are not within the sphear of a civil jurisdiction. The body or Commonweal is meerly civil, the Magistrate or head is a civil head, and each member is a civil member: and so far forth as any of this civil body are spiritual, or act spiritually, they and their actions fall under a spiritual cognizance and judicature."

I shall not elaborate further on the theme; but I only want to mention again that these lines were written nearly three centuries ago, when loyalty to state presupposed loyalty to church, and when it was implicitly believed by almost every one that civil government was impossible unless there be religious uniformity. The Thirty Years War was still raging when the *Bloudy Tenent* appeared. Its ideas at the time were visionary, fantastic, incendiary: the English Parliament ordered the book burned. But, here in Rhode Island, in Providence, on Aquidneck, and later at Warwick, Soul Liberty was tried. It worked—and after all, the only test of any idea is the pragmatic one. As Mr. Justice Holmes remarked upon a memorable occasion, "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."

In Rhode Island, the first instance of religious liberty in action is to be found in Providence Compact, by which the inhabitants bound themselves "Only in civill things." And, on Aquidneck, in 1641, it was ordered "that none be accounted a delinquent for Doctrine." The first, or Providence Plantations, charter, could say nothing about conscience, as the Parliament that granted it was hostile to Toleration, but the first laws enacted under that charter, the Code of 1647, left no doubts in the matter. The main body of laws concludes with words whose simple impressiveness even today cannot fail to awe.

> "These are the Lawes that concern all men, and these are the Penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are Ratified and Established throwout this whole Colonie: And otherwise than that what is forbidden, all men may walk as their conscience perswade them, every man in the name of his God."

Here, expressed in the quiet poetry of seventeenth century prose, was the "Rhode Island Idea," which before long was confirmed in the provisions of the charter of 1663. In that instrument it was expressly declared, in words that might have been, and perhaps were, written by Roger Williams himself,

> "that no person within the said Colony * * * shall be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturbe the civil peace, but that all and every person and persons may * * * freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, * * * they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others * * * "

And that charter contained also those glorious, sonorous words which have been carried into our Constitution and now are graven over the portico of our State House, there to look down upon and counsel the generations yet to come:

> "To hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing

> civil state may stand and best be maintained with full liberty in religious concernments."

And now we are ready to consider Roger Williams' political views. These have been too long ignored, partly because a certain school of history saw in every mention of Williams' political opinions the sly and subtle machinations of the Massachusetts; and partly also, no doubt, because Roger Williams by and large is heavy reading, and the thought of digging through "The Bloudy Tenent", to name no others, was not encouraging. But of late years we have had testimony, from unbiased and wholly disinterested sources, concerning the political wisdom of Roger Williams and his place among political thinkers. One Dr. Jellinek successfully maintained the thesis that it was Roger Williams, not Voltaire or the other eighteenth century philosophers, who was the author of the Rights of Man, and hence the spiritual father of the French Revolution. A Dr. Freund, but a few years since, asserted most convincingly that Williams was the foremost exponent of liberty of conscience and the rights of man in the English Revolution. Even more recently, Dr. James E. Ernst published his comprehensive work on Williams' political thought; and just the other day, in the latest number of the Rhode Island Historical *Collections*, Dr. Ernst has traced the tremendous influence of Williams' "Bloudy Tenent" on the pamphleteers of the English Revolution, and hence on that great political movement itself.

I suppose that the keystone of Roger Williams' political arch was the idea that the state exists for man, and not man for the state. As a corollary to this fundamental thought, Williams maintained that the people were sovereign. They were the state. In Williams' own words:

> "Whereas they say, that the Civill Power may erect and establish what forme of civill Government may seem in Wisdome most meet, I acknowledge the Proposition to be most true. * * * But from this Grant I infer, (as before hath been touched) that the Soveraign, original, and foundation of Civill power lies in the People, (whom they must needs mean by the

> civill power distinct from the Government set up.) And if so, that a People may erect and establish what forme of Government seemes to them most meete for their civill condition: It is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, then the civill power or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in Reason, but in the experience of all commonweales, where the people are not deprived of their naturall freedom by the power of the tyrants."

These were not idle speculations; they were ideas that had already been put into practice. The General Court for Portsmouth and Newport in 1641 declared its institutions "a Democracie or Popular Government"; and even earlier, in 1637, the Providence settlers had signed a solemn compact "to subject ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present Inhabitants * * * and others whome they shall admitt unto them."

It is one of the glories of Roger Williams' political ideas that they were the product, not of a cloistered scholar musing in his cell, but of an intensely active man, who carried out his thoughts in practice, and successfully subjected them to the acid test of actual experience.

Williams was careful always to point out that the powers of the State extended only to civil things, but those proper functions he did not limit in any narrow doctrinaire fashion. His views approached closely some which have been formulated only in the last decade or so, and which conceive the state to be nothing more than a species of public service corporation, simply more magnificent and larger in scope than most. An unromantic thought, if you will, but one which flows naturally and easily from Roger Williams' primary conception that the state is made for man. This idea, as Dr. Ernst points out,

> "is resident in such terms as: * * * common safety, common welfare, * * * public good, preservation of peace and order, common peace and subsistence, common peace and liberty, * * * and minister and servant. In his letter to Providence,

> in 1651, [Roger Williams] emphasizes the public service in settlement of controversies, care of orphans, widows, the poor and the insane; in a letter, in 1667, he encourages the building of roads and bridges. At other times, he requests the regulation of trade, commerce, industry, the liquor traffic with the Indians and the citizens, and the protection of cattle from wild beasts."

At a time when some people are urging, for various ends, that the functions of government be limited, arguing in reliance on supposed inherent principles which turn out to be imaginary over-simplifications of half-understood doctrine, it is refreshing to turn to Roger Williams, to note his solutions, and to observe that his theories were sufficiently broad to allow the state to serve all public needs. Doubtless Williams would heartily concur with the penetrating observations of a recent writer: "Government is itself an art, one of the subtlest of the arts. It is neither business, nor technology, nor applied science. It is the art of making men live together in peace and with reasonable happiness."

Some other ideas of Roger Williams I have but time to hint at: his views on the distribution of local and central authority, on the necessity of fluidity in government, on the relation of states to each other, on liberty. It is interesting to note in passing that he anticipated James Otis by nearly a century. In 1680 he wrote to the citizens of Providence: "There is no man that hath a vote in town or colony, but he hath a hand in making the rates by himself or his deputies." It is even more interesting to observe that in this same letter, written when he could look upon the world with the placid wisdom of age, Williams stressed the necessity of government not as an evil to be tolerated, but as an institution affirmatively good, because it emanated from the people.

> "Government and order in families, towns, etc., is the ordinance of the Most High, Rom. 13, for the peace and good of mankind. * * * Mankind cannot keep together without some government. * * * That there is no man in the world, except robbers, pirates and rebels but doth submit to government. Even robbers, pirates and rebels themselves cannot hold together, but by some law among themselves and government. One of these

> two great laws of the world must prevail, either that of judges and justices of peace in courts of peace, or law of arms, the sword and blood. * * * Till matters come to a settled government, no man is ordinarily sure of his house, goods, lands, cattle, wife, children, life."

And with a pardonable show of pride he added, "our Charter excels all in New England as to the Souls of men."

Rhode Island enjoyed, he asserted, "such Peace, such Security, such Liberties of Soule and Body as were never enjoyed by any English men, nor any in the World I have heard of."

And yet his very successes were charged against him as faults; in 1650 he wrote, "I have been charged with folly for that freedom and libertie which I have always stood for; I say liberty and equalitie both in land and government." Furthermore, Roger Williams has been charged with sundry inconsistencies. You remember the case of Joshua Verin, who kept his wife from attending Williams' religious services. This was a breach of the rule guaranteeing liberty of conscience, and Verin was accordingly disfranchised. But, maintained the miller, "when he consented to that order he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands"; at any rate, Verin asserted he had acted "out of conscience." Hence it was said that Williams was inconsistent. Further, Roger Williams had charged William Harris with treason for writing against the Rhode Island charter; yet Williams himself had written against the Massachusetts charter. And finally, despite his espousals of religious liberty, he had inveighed against the Quakers, and had threatened them with imprisonment for their use of "thee" and "thou" and for their refusal to uncover.

As to the Harris incident, it need only be remarked that there are charters of all sorts, and that the one granted Rhode Island had not the faults which Williams earlier exposed in Massachusetts. It did not disregard the Indians' rights. The other two events, it seems to me, do not invalidate the principle at all, or smack of inconsistency. (The

virtue of consistency, I take it, is the proof it affords that a man believes in the worth of an idea, and does not twist it to serve his changing ends.) They illustrate simply a difficulty inherent in human affairs, the difficulty of drawing a line. "Otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil pease,"—and obviously there can be different opinions about what cases are disturbing. That Williams drew the line differently than we should perhaps draw it today, I can attribute only to the fact that he, like all of us, was only human. And, to quote an acute critic, "If we focus attention on the human origin of all government, we shall have a more scientific temper for dealing with its frailties." Much the same is the biblical thought: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels."

So I do not believe that the incident of the Quakers is the blot on Williams' name that some have contended it was. Quite to the contrary, I think there is something remarkable and admirable in Roger Williams' conduct: with one breath he bids the Quakers welcome, sheltering them from the persecution and death that was their lot elsewhere; with the next breath he argues against their doctrines until he is hoarse. It seems to me that he personifies Voltaire's words in the following century: "I wholly disagree with what you say, and will defend to the death your right to say it!"

Is it any wonder that such a man was not understood by his time, that he represented something irrational, that he was called an incendiary, one with windmills in his head? And after all, some of his ideas have not even yet met with more than partial approval. Here is a passage from the *Bloudy Tenent*:

> "It is a truth, the mischief of a blinde Pharises blinde guidance is greater then if he acted Treasons, Murders, &c. and the losse of one soule by his seduction is a greater mischief then if he blew up Parliaments, and cuts the throats of Kings or Emperours, so pretious is that invaluable Jewell of a Soul, above all the present lives and bodies of all the men in the world!"

These words were written while Charles the First still had

his head. I beg you compare them with a sentence published within the year, from Harold Laski's book:

> "Liberty [writes Mr. Laski] cannot help being a courage to resist the demands of power at some point that is decisive; and, because of this, liberty, also, is an inescapable doctrine of contingent anarchy."

The parallelism is striking, and not less striking is the fact that the latter writer, also, was in effect "enlarged" out of Massachusetts.

After all, the case of Roger Williams is but another illustration of the difficulty of adjusting the fundamental relation between man and society, between the individual and the group. On the one hand there is the feeling of the herd, instinctive and hence deep-rooted, that will not tolerate deviations from the herd norm. At the other extreme is the desire of the individual to assert himself, to live his own life and to think his own thoughts. Between these two conceptions of life there is a chasm that cannot be bridged; the difference is irreconcilable. It is the struggle between heart and head; it is the conflict between conformity and nonconformity, between concurrence and dissent. And so long as in each human being reason is blended with emotion, who shall say which is right?

President Faunce, in the ripeness of his wisdom, would often admonish us to "conform in little things." But what of large things, what of ideas that move the thinkers? Each must decide that for himself. It is not enough, I fear, to suggest that they be not uttered, to echo the remark of the medieval judge, that "the devil himself knoweth not the thought of man," or to urge, as did Walter Pater, that a civilized man carries his ideas lightly. For when we come to grips with this insoluble problem of conformity or dissent, we deal with men who do not toy with ideas, who cannot equivocate and who will not be silenced, who like Martin Luther before the Diet cry out, "*Ich kann nicht anders*"—I can not do otherwise—and who, like Roger Williams, will cheerfully grapple with privation and bravely look into the

face of death. And yet—and yet—but few dissenters have the stature of a Luther or a Williams.

Judge Learned Hand has put the matter very well:

> "And so, poor wights, we cling to what custom gives, and insist upon the verity of what we tremble to uncover and forbid others to dispute. The heretic who dares to lay impious hand upon our arks has always been our enemy, and perhaps will be till the last syllable of recorded time. Too often reckless, vain, and shallow, strutting in the glare of the fires he kindles; careless, so he throw large the shadow of his puny self. Yet not always; his kind are also man's best friends, without whom life would be as dead as a pressed flower, yellow and crushed and scentless. Such, when they are true to the faith, put their trust in life, in man's assertion of his right to be, in that old Adam who, from the first flicker of sentience and in the midst of the appalling tragedy of existence, has striven to endure, and in spite of all still goes on. Man's upward course from the first amoeba which felt a conscious thrill, is no more than the effort to affirm the meanings of his own strange self, to divine his significance and to make it manifest in the little hour vouchsafed him."

But it does not follow that the noisy, shallow critics must then be silenced. For who are we to judge the worth of what is said, and by what token are we to differentiate the Norton of Merry Mount from the Roger Williams? Far better to let them be, to let time judge; the first can never harm us, and the other, who should not be forced to seek elsewhere, will always redound to our credit. Even Massachusetts later had need of Williams, within his lifetime, and on numerous occasions he served and even saved the state that had expelled him.

The noisy reveler, the carping and dyspeptic critic, these but condemn themselves; well has it been said that "the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones." In the words of Thomas Jefferson, "We have nothing to fear from the demoralizing reasonings of some, if others are left free to demonstrate their errors and especially when the law stands ready to punish the first criminal act produced by false reasonings."

When the United Colonies in 1656 asked the Colony of the Providence Plantations to cease admitting Quakers, President Benedict Arnold and the magistrates replied, "that in those places where these people aforesaid in this Colony, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come, and we are informed that they begin to loathe this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority: and we surely find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers, and when they are so they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings."

As persecution glorifies the oppressed, whether these be good or bad, so does it humble the persecutor. Who now remembers the Parliamentarians who burned *The Bloudy Tenent*? Who now can name the man who governed Massachusetts when that Colony banished Roger Williams? (It was not Winthrop.) His name is as the dust, but that of Williams lives. And yet the sentence of banishment still stands unrepealed, touched neither by the judgment of the world, nor by that decent gratitude which should have been the modest recompense for Williams' later services.

"The men whom I should be tempted to commemorate," says Mr. Justice Holmes, "would be the originators of transforming thought." Tonight, as we celebrate Roger Williams, I trust it will not seem unduly didactic if we attempt to extract a lesson from his example. I suggest that it is the futility of suppressing those who "hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions"; and though perhaps that is not a popular notion, it will doubtless have more adherents in the next few years. For I venture to predict that we are at the threshold of a more tolerant decade, that we will respect more than heretofore the right of others to differ from us, and that we may perhaps even practice the precept of the great man whom tonight we praise. It is true, conditions are different. Where once

religious heresies were abhorred, it is now economic aberrations. But the principle is still the same; and indeed, the need of it is greater. When Roger Williams was hunted by Archbishop Laud, he could come to America; when the theocracy expelled him, he wandered to Seekonk; when Governor Winslow bade him leave, he came to Providence. But where can the soul go that is now troubled for conscience? There are no more vacant lands; there is nowhere now to go.

It is not love of the past alone that suggests we maintain the tradition of Roger Williams, nor is it solely antiquarianism that applauds the thoughts and doctrines of one so essentially modern, who saw the need for government and order, and at the same time recognized the necessity for self-expression. Here in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations we can do much worse than follow in the footsteps of our Founder; and if we do follow him, and so long as we do, we shall always, I trust, "hold forth a lively experiment."

# Cheese Making in Old South County

*By* ALBERT E. LOWNES

Two hundred years ago South County was an area of great plantations. The soil, for the most part, was too rocky or too sandy for efficient cultivation, but the raising of live stock of all kinds flourished.

The growing of neat cattle naturally produced a surplus of milk, particularly during the summer months, and since the perishable nature of the product made shipment impossible under the conditions that then prevailed, it was not long before the settlers began to convert it into cheese. By the middle of the eighteenth century unbelievable quantities were made and exported, not only to the neighboring colonies, but to all parts of British America and to Europe, as well.

James McSparran, the beloved rector of St. Paul's in Narragansett, writes in his *America Dissected*: "The produce of this colony (Rhode Island) is principally butter and cheese, fat cattle, wool, and fine horses, that are exported to all parts of the English America."

Douglass, in 1760, says: "Rhode Island Colony in general, is a country pasture, not for grain. . . . It is noted for dairies, whence the best cheese made in any part of New England, is called (abroad) Rhode Island cheese. The most considerable farms are in the Narragansett country. Their highest dairy of one farm . . . milks about one hundred and ten cows, cuts two hundred loads of hay, makes about thirteen thousand pounds of cheese, besides butter, and sells off considerable in calves and fatted bullocks. A farmer from seventy-three milch cows in five months made ten thousand pounds of cheese."

These may well have been the greatest producers, but others were not far behind. Updike, on the authority of Isaac Peace Hazard, states that "N. Hazard kept 42 cows

and made 9,200 pounds of cheese" and that "Joseph N. Austin . . . kept 36 cows and made 8,000 pounds of cheese." Rowland Robinson is also cited as having "an immense dairy" and we are told that "one cow would average two pounds of cheese a day."

In addition to these great dairymen, there were many others who made cheese on a large, though more modest, scale. "College Tom" Hazard, whose records have been so carefully preserved for us by Miss Caroline Hazard, regularly sold over two thousand pounds of cheese a year and in some years almost doubled that figure.

Naturally, an industry of this magnitude had its effect on the general trade of the Colony,—especially since currency seems to have been one of the least stable of the commodities. We learn from Updike that rents were paid in produce and that "6000 pounds of cheese was equivalent to $600 annual rent for years."

Updike tells us that "the wife of Richard Smith brought from Gloustershire to this country, the recipe for making the celebrated Cheshire cheese, and from this recipe the Narragansett was made in imitation of the Cheshire cheese, and it early gained for the table and market an established reputation for superior flavor and excellence." This must have been the wife of the first settler in Narragansett, who came from that county.

It seems hardly possible that cheese-making was possible at such an early date, but by the middle of the following century it was certainly well established and cheese continued to be a principal product of the Narragansett Country until after the Napoleonic Wars. Then butter increased in price while cheese declined, so that it became more profitable to use the cream for butter. Attempts were made to produce cheeses from skimmed milk, but they were of inferior quality and the industry languished and died early in the nineteenth century.

Cheese-making is a comparatively simple process. It was apparently, in the early days at least, done principally by

the female slaves and we learn that Robert Hazard, father of "College Tom," "had twelve negro women as dairy women, each of whom had a girl to assist her, making from twelve to twenty-four cheeses a day."

Directions and recipes for making cheese exist in many books of the period. They differ greatly in minor particulars but the general principle is the same.

The milk was set in pans and a little rennet was added to it—"just enough to make the curd come," to quote an old recipe. It was kept at blood heat until the curd was well formed—usually about half an hour. The curd was stirred with the hand until it was well set. It was then removed from the whey with a strainer and placed on a draining board. It was worked with the hands to remove as much of the whey as possible. Sometimes this operation was performed in a cheesecloth laid over a cheese-basket, which rested in turn on a cheese-ladder, placed over a pan or tub to catch the whey. More rarely a cheese-rack combined the functions of basket and ladder. After as much liquid as possible was removed from the curds by hand, they were salted and packed into a cheese-ring or hoop and placed in the press. A wooden disk, called the foller, fitted snugly on top of the curds to ensure even pressing. The hoop or ring had no bottom, but a similar device, called a vat, had a perforated wooden bottom. Isaac Peace Hazard recalled that his great-grandfather, Robert Hazard, had "cheese-vats of the second size" that "held nearly one bushel."

The cheese presses were of many sizes and types, from small table presses to great floor presses as tall as a man. All that I have seen of undoubted Rhode Island lineage made one cheese at a time, but at a later date multiple presses were developed. South County Museum has four presses, all different, and two others are in the writer's possession. Pressure was applied, in most cases, through a combination of pulleys and levers. A weight was attached to the end of the lever to give a constant pressure. One press, a small table press, is operated with wooden screws.

The cheese was pressed over night with moderate pressure. Then it was turned over and pressed on the other side. It was removed from the hoop and thoroughly coated with butter and salt and placed on a cheese-ladder on the cheese-house shelf to ripen. This took several months and during this period the cheese had to be turned over and buttered daily. Most of the cheese was made during July and August, but the turning and buttering continued until late in the fall.

Most of the cheese made in Rhode Island was "natural cheese," but some fancy cheeses were made by adding herbs or herb-teas to the curds to give color and flavor. Sage was most popular, but teas made by boiling young corn-husks or spinach gave a fine green color.

South County Museum has all of the equipment for making this famous cheese—the pails and pans and rings and follers, the vats and baskets and ladders, as well as the presses themselves. Unfortunately, good Mistress Smith's recipe is lost, but even if it were not it is doubtful if we could compete with the highly mechanized factories of New York and Wisconsin.

## Cocumcussoc

The following explanation of the meaning of the Indian word Cocumcussoc is contained in an extract from a letter from Mr. W. B. Cabot* of Boston to Mr. J. Earl Clauson of Wickford, which appeared in the Evening Bulletin of October 3, 1934. Mr. Cabot wrote:

"Agreeing with you, I have never liked Trumbull's connecting Cocumcusset with Devil's Foot. 'A grass marsh,' meaning seems the one to me; more exactly, two succeeding marshes, possibly more than two. The form appears in Cocumpaug, a pond in Charlestown, but applied to ponds instead of marshes.

"As a matter of notation I think Trumbull's accepting 'cocum' for 'kikum' is unjustified as the sounds represented don't seem to approach each other in their dialects."

## Notes

Mrs. Herbert W. Rice has been elected to membership in the Society.

*See *R. I. H. S. Collections* for April, 1929, for Cabot's explanation of the meaning of other local Indian place names.

# New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

An Article by Canon A. A. Luce entitled *Berkeley's Bermuda Project and His Benefactions to American Universities, with Unpublished Letters and Extracts from the Egmont Papers* appears in the August, 1934, issue of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.*

*History and Trees of the Jenks Family* by Charles N. Jenks is a 41 page pamphlet.

An article* by Coe Hayne, entitled *The Long Trail of the Brothertowns* traces the descent of Hannah Garret, wife of David Fowler, "the Mercury of the Indian School" from Momojashuck, brother of Ninigret, thus connecting the Narragansett-Niantics with the Brothertown Indians of Wisconsin.

*R. I. H. S. Scrap Book Vol. 31, p. 69.

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Vol. XXVIII APRIL, 1935 No. 2

APR - 8 1935

THE HOYLE TAVERN

From a daguerreotype taken in 1857 by G. L. Hurd.

*See page 33.* *Photograph on file in the Society's Library.*

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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VOL. XXVIII APRIL, 1935 No. 2

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# The Old Hoyle Tavern

*By* HORACE G. BELCHER

Few localities in Rhode Island have been better known to greater numbers over a long period of years than the V-shaped junction of Westminster and Cranston streets, now named Canonicus square but still termed Hoyle square by many. For this was the site during seven generations, of the famous old Hoyle Tavern, one of the first taverns opened on the West side of Providence and for nearly a century and a half one of the best known places of resort in or near the old town founded by Roger Williams.

Located at the junction of the highway to Moshantituck —later the Cranston road and now Cranston street—and that leading to Newtaconsonutt, long known as High street and now called Westminster, two great tides of travel passed its doors and united in front of it, to flow into the town by its main highway. One came from Connecticut through the Western farming and manufacturing towns of Rhode Island—down the New London Turnpike,

through Coventry and Cranston; the other from the Plainfield, Hartford and Norwich Turnpikes, flowing through Olneyville from the Northern and Northwestern towns—Burrillville, North Smithfield, Smithfield, Glocester, Scituate, Foster, Johnston—a section of farms and small, often isolated mills, much of it far more densely populated a century ago, than now.

Down these roads came great teams hauling raw materials and finished products from the small mills whose stone skeletons may yet be seen along many streams whose remote situations did not weigh against the water power they furnished; drovers with herds of cattle; farmers with loads of produce for barter in the town; stage coaches with travellers eager to stretch their legs and get something to wash down the dust in their throats before the last long stretch of road into Providence.

These coaches came from Connecticut towns and Rhode Island villages; from Hartford, through Scituate; Hartford, via Pomfret; Norwich via South Scituate; Danielson and North Scituate; Cranston; Clayville via Simmonsville; Hartford and Norwich via Scituate Four Corners; Cranston; Olneyville. They passed at all hours on every day save Sunday, those to the most remote points reaching the Hoyle outward bound in the early morning of every other day, inward bound in late afternoon or early evening. The Olneyville stage ran daily, every hour from Providence.[1]

It was a never ending stream of travel, passing on both sides of the old tavern as it stood inside the point of the V looking toward the town at the junction of the two main roads, on the very site where stands today the building of the Citizens Savings Bank.

Year after year the old tavern stood there, until a century passed and half of another; until it became the best known tavern of the town, a landmark and directing point. To say "It's near the Hoyle" was to identify the location of any point instantly, to all save the stranger here. Even today,

[1] *Providence Directory*, 1850, 1855-56.

years after the name of the open space in front of the bank was officially changed by the city, it is generally known by its old name of Hoyle Square, or to older residents as "The Hoyle."

Yet although the Hoyle Tavern was carried on by various proprietors nearly a century and a half before the old hostelry was removed to make way for a business block which in turn was replaced by the modern bank building now standing on the site, the tavern which to the end bore his name was in charge of a Hoyle but 13 years. The name remained on the sign and the impress of his identity on the place, although he served his last flip there in 1796 and was not even the first to open the tavern. Nor was this the first Hoyle Tavern in the town, although the earlier one is now almost forgotten and its name and location is uncertain.

The legend on a picture of the house which for years hung in the old sitting room of the tavern, gave the date of opening as 1724.[2] The date most generally accepted for many years was 1782[3] and the tavern was said to have been named after the man who built and opened it and who also had a Hoyle Tavern, less well known, out in Triptown, the present Manton.[4]

But Col. Joseph Hoyle, whose name remained on the sign to the end, did not become owner of the house until 1783[5]—and a tavern had been carried on there for many years previous to his purchase of the place. Moreover, there had been a Hoyle Tavern in Providence for years before any buildings were erected at the intersecting roadways to the hill towns of Rhode Island and the Connecticut hill country beyond.

The first mention of a Hoyle as a tavern keeper is on the

[2] *History of Providence County*, Edited by Richard M. Bayles, Providence, 1891.

[3] *Ibid.*, and manuscript account of *Old Providence Taverns*, by Dr. Franklin C. Clark, now (1933) in possession of Howard W. Preston.

[4] *History of Providence County*, Bayles.

[5] *Deed Book 20*, Section 2, page 723, *Providence Land Records*.

sixth of July, 1728, when in the entry of the Town Council meeting of that date "Doctr Hoyl" is listed among the 12 appearing "to take Licence." He paid 2 shillings, 10 pence.[6]

Dr. John Hoyle, first of several of this name, is mentioned by Staples in his "Annals of Providence" as "one of the most active and efficient of the number" that composed the society organizing what now is the First Congregational (Unitarian) Church. He must have been a man of firm convictions and positive action, for in 1721, during a controversy over the proper location for the new church edifice, he visited neighboring colonies to solicit financial aid and after raising money in Connecticut and Massachusetts, on his return began erecting the church near the junction of the present Broad and Westminster Streets.[7]

He did this without consulting others, after buying the land. "So great was the dissatisfaction at the conduct of Dr. Hoyle", says Staples, "that the house was torn down after it had been partially finished, and tradition says, in the night time."

Dr. Hoyle was born in Bury, in Lancaster, England, April 4, 1685[8] and was buried in the graveyard he established on his own land, February 11, 1766. The Hoyle burial plot was at what now is the corner of Broad and Moore Streets, still an empty lot growing up to brush.[9] This plot was in Cranston until the extension of the Providence city line in 1868.

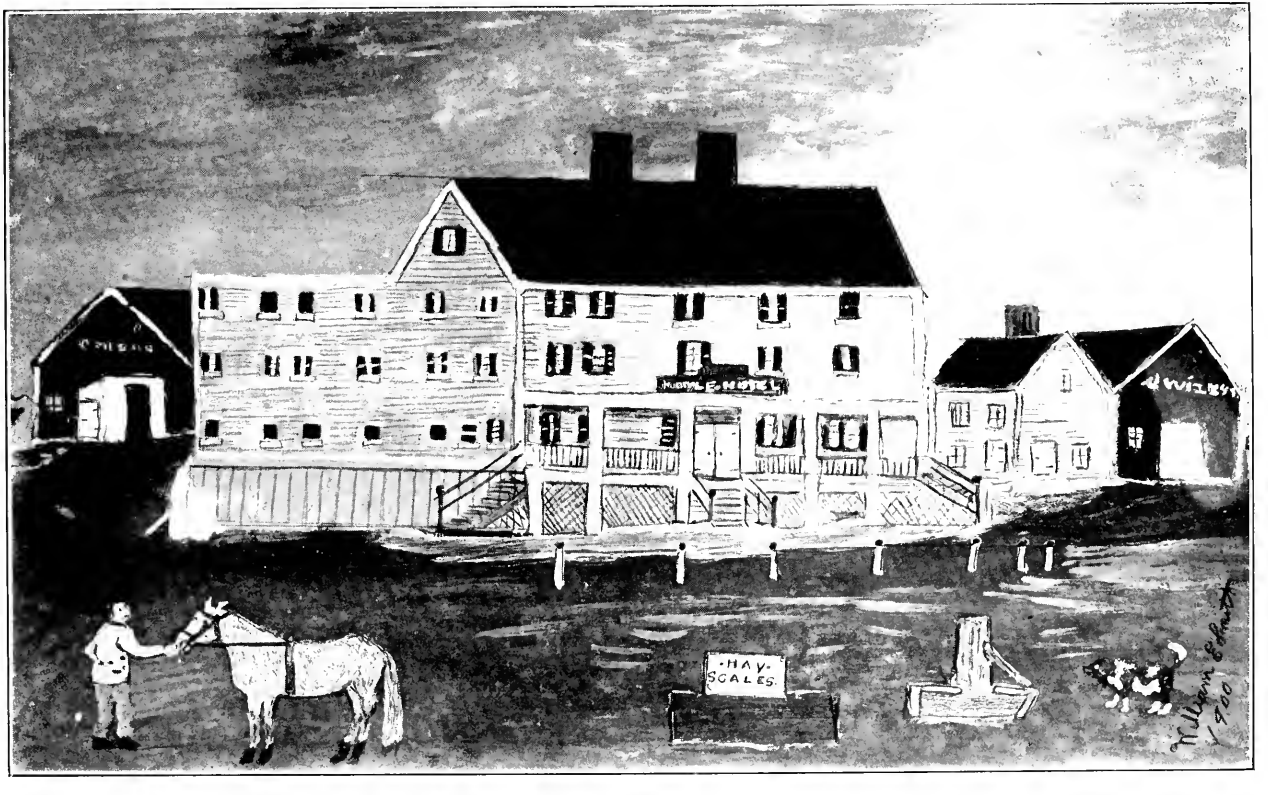
In his will Dr. Hoyle left 15 pounds to the town of Cranston for care of this burial plot, but the trust was not executed and the condition of the lot finally became so neglected that two of his descendants had the bodies removed to Locust Grove Cemetery on Elmwood Avenue.[9] The gravestones with the exception of two large ones that

[6] *Early Records of the Town of Providence, reprint*, Vol. 12, page 87, Providence, 1897

[7] *Annals of Providence*, by William R. Staples, Providence, 1843.

[8] *R. I. Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 25, page 112, October, 1932.

[9] Mrs. George W. Carr, direct descendant of Dr. John Hoyle.




A PAINTING OF THE HOYLE TAVERN *In the Society's Museum.*

stood just beside the tomb, were replaced in the new cemetery. The two larger stones, one of them headed with the name of Dr. John Hoyle, were given to the Rhode Island Historical Society and placed in the society's exhibits.

The land originally purchased by Dr. Hoyle for church purposes was roughly centered by what now is Fenner Street. Late in the Eighteenth Century the family home was near the corner of the present Westminster and Bridgham Streets.[10] The name has been perpetuated in Hoyle Street as well as in memories of the old Hoyle Tavern. The family is all but extinct, the last survivor being Mrs. George W. Carr, widow of one of the best known Providence physicians of another generation.

In the records of a Town Council meeting held July 14, 1729, mainly for the granting of licenses, is this entry: "—it is voated that those that will haue Licence shall Giue after the same Rate that they Gaue the last yeare and that John Hoyle is accepted in the Roome of fiernot Packard and John Randall Jn in the Roome of Edward Potter & accepted 2-x-0-0." John Hoyle paid that day 2-10-0.[11]

August 3, 1730, the Council granted 14 licenses, including one to John Hoyle, the record reading: "Mr. John Hoyle hath payd 2-10-0."[12]

Again two years later, he appears. The Council met August 14, 1732 mainly for the granting of licenses and the entry reads: "John Hoyle is to haue a Licence for the sum of 50 shillings: in a reasonable time."[13] His tavern must have been on the "Towne Row," now North and South Main Streets, one of the most desirable locations, for he and William Hopkins were the only ones to pay 2 pounds 10 shillings fee. The other six paid two pounds only.

Next year he met opposition. August 18, 1733, at a meeting "mainly to Grant Licences and Licence Tavern keep-

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Early Records of the Town of Providence, reprint*, Vol. 12, page 88.

[12] *Ibid.*, page 90.

[13] *Ibid.*, page 93.

ers," the record says: "john Hoyle appeared to take Licence and was Rejected by a voate of the Councill."[14]

This was six years before the first license was granted at what we know as the Hoyle Tavern and more than half a century before Col. Joseph Hoyle bought the already successful inn to which he gave his name.

This John Hoyle of Cranston was his grandfather. The interruption of the license must have been merely temporary, for in his will, made April 16, 1758 and recorded February 6, 1766, five days before his burial, John Hoyle "of Cranston" directs his son James, father of Joseph, to "asist his mother in her business, her paying him for it." He divided his lands in Cranston and his house in Providence among his widow and three children, left sums of money to grand-children as well as 15 pounds to "the town of Cranston treasury" to maintain his Hoyle graveyard and continued:

"And further my will is that children should be loving each other and to their mother and she the same to them and I would pray that they would think that their poor Mother and Father had no body to give any thing to them and that I have labored hard to get a few pence for them and hope God will bless them with the same."

The "few pence" proved a sizable fortune for the times. His estate inventoried 2887 pounds, 10 shillings, old tenor and included a silver mounted sword and "cain," articles proving him to have been a man of position as well as substance.[15]

From such sturdy stock as this, came the tavern keeper so long remembered at the junction of the two main roads into Northern and Western Rhode Island.

The present site of the Citizens Savings Bank building formed a part of a small tract of land laid out to Andrew Harris in 1712, comprising nearly 12 acres.[16]

[14] *Ibid.*, page 45.

[15] *Providence Probate Records*, Book W-5, page 411.

[16] Manuscript of Dr. Franklin C. Clark.

John Angell, grandson of the first Thomas, one of the original settlers of Providence, bought it from Harris in 1714 and resold it to his brother, Joseph Angell in 1722, the deed being dated May 24.[17] The Highway to Moshantituck, now Cranston Street, was laid out through one corner of the land.

At this time there were no improvements on it, for none is mentioned in the deed.

Joseph Angell had held possession of the land for 12 years when on February 21, 1734-5, he sold a triangular piece "one acre more or less, situated on Weybosset Plain, a little Southwest from the dwelling house of Ebenezer Knight," to Timothy Blanchard, blacksmith. The land conveyed extended Easterly and was bounded on the West by land afterward owned by John Carter. Its North bound was the highway to Newtaconsonutt, its South bound the "highway that leads to Moshantituck," the East bound being "in the corner where said two highways meet." This deed did not mention any buildings or improvements on the land.

The "highway leading toward Newtaconsonutt" was for many years known as High Street, the street beginning at the New Market, at the junction of Pawtuxet Road, now Broad Street, and running to the Johnston line. It is now called Westminster Street which in the days of High Street extended only from the West side of Weybosset Bridge, to High Street. The "highway that leads to Moshantituck" was Cranston Street, which formerly ran from 164 High Street to the West boundary line. This road was laid out in 1717.

Blanchard built a dwelling house on the land, for when in 1739-40 he conveyed this acre of land to Obadiah Brown another blacksmith, for a consideration of 200 pounds, a dwelling house thereon was mentioned in the deed, which read "with my dwelling house, being my house thereon standing, it being my homestead." The deed to Obadiah

[17] *Ibid.* and *Deed Book 5*, page 210, *Providence Land Records.*

Brown was dated March 3, 1739-40. This house was later the Hoyle Tavern.

Obadiah Brown later became owner of Starve Goat Island in the upper bay, off Washington Park, now home of the Providence Floating Hospital Association. In the deed to the island, as in one made to him by Zachariah Mathewson, dated January 5, 1746, he is described as "innholder."[18]

Obadiah Brown was the first to open the inn which in later years was so well known, the first license being granted March 14, 1739-40 to keep "a Publick Ale House." He paid 17 shillings six pence fee, for license to run until the following September, the usual date for granting licenses.[19] He must have been popular and successful from the start, for from 1742 to 1745, the Town Council met at his tavern.

Obadiah Brown died early in 1753 and left his house and furniture for the use of his widow during her lifetime. In his will, dated April 25 of that year, he described himself as "a yoeman, alias innholder." His inventory shows he was possessed at the time of his death, of a punch bowl and drinking glasses, as well as a cask of rum. The term "yoeman" then denoted a well to do man lower in social rank than a gentleman well born and above a "goodman."

Here, then, was the beginning of the Hoyle Tavern as an inn—March 14, 1739-40—the house itself being four or five years old at that time. From this period until early in 1887 when the last license holder retired and the rooms in the old building were used as a lodging house, it was one of the best known places in Rhode Island.

In those early days taverns were kept in the houses of the proprietors and the whole family assisted in the duties of entertaining guests. The license granted William Hopkins by the Providence Town Council December 13, 1731,

[18] Letter signed "S" in Providence *Sunday Journal*, 1888, reprinted in *Narragansett Historical Register*, Vol. 6, page 313, July, 1888.

[19] Dr. Franklin C. Clark manuscript.

was "to keep a Publick aile house tipling and Victling house in the house where he now Liveth in Providence." The fee was 40 shillings, although Jeremiah Brown was that day granted one for 26 shillings.[20]

The fee paid for a license depended on the situation of the inn. The Town Council ordered, March 10, 1721, the rate set at 20 shillings for those "that Lieues adjoyneing to the Town street" that is, the road between the foot of the hill and the water's edge, now North and South Main Streets. "And these others that are Remote from said Towne att the time of there taking there Licence shall pay downe the sum of fifteene shillings money—at the expiration of the year each person shall pay enough to make up 40 shillings."

August 18, 1724, the Council "Voated that Each person that is Licenced to Keepe a Tauern in the Towne Row shall pay the sum of 50 shillings downe; takeing in Zachariah Mathewson and William Allen also and these that are Licensed in the Woods shall pay the sum of forty shillings downe Each." The woods were at the very edge of the town, which then spread only a short distance on the West side of the river. As late as 1776 it extended only about a mile along the Towne street on the East side.

The early inns were small, as were all the houses in Providence. Later they were enlarged as they were built to accommodate more custom. But always the best among them maintained a high reputation for hospitality. Rev. Dr. Dwight writing of the New England inns of the early part of the last century said: "In a word, you found in these inns the pleasures of an excellent private house. If you were sick you were nursed and befriended as in your own family. To finish the story, your bills were always equitable, calculated on what you ought to pay and not upon the scheme of getting the most which extortion might think proper to demand."[21]

[20] *The Colonial Tavern* by Edward Field, Providence, 1897.
[21] *Ibid.*

The old Sayles tavern, sometimes called the Pidge Tavern after the successor of Sayles, still standing on North Main Street nearly opposite the Pawtucket car house, is one of the few remaining Rhode Island examples of the earliest type of dwelling house inn remaining unaltered. Here the liquid cheer was served from a small closet opening from the large living room on the ground floor. The bar itself was a shelf set on the lower half of a Dutch door to this closet. The Hoyle Tavern to its very end retained the old kitchen barroom almost unchanged, although this was succeeded in the later days of the establishment by a large and more modern barroom in an ell added to the original structure on the High street end.

The innkeeper was one of the leading citizens of the town. In early Massachusetts he ranked in importance after the minister. In Rhode Island as elsewhere in New England, he often held office and usually was a man of much influence. The first Town Clerk of Providence kept an inn and the Town Council often met there. Thomas Fenner, who kept tavern at "his house in the woods" near Neutaconcit in Providence, was "Major for the main," which gave him command of all the militia on the mainland in Rhode Island. Besides this he was a justice of the peace, store keeper and a surveyor of no mean ability.

William Turpin, licensed in Providence in 1731 and other years, was Town Treasurer. The General Assembly sat in the Turpin house, located on the West side of the present North Main Street. The list of licenses granted by the Providence Town Council July 6, 1717, numbering 13, was headed by Lieut. William Harris and "Sarjant William Turpen"—the same who became Town Treasurer. James Sabin, who kept the tavern at South Main and Power Streets where the Gaspee plot was hatched, was a Colonel.

The tavern was the resort of everyone in the town, for the use of ale and liquor was universal, even by the clergy; there all the news centered; there politics originated and public movements started; any public meetings held, were

at the tavern. It was the centre of town life, town politics, town activity—even of town history in many cases.

Licenses were issued only to men of good character. In Providence as in other towns, the Town Council usually met at the house of some one of these licensed tavern keepers and dined there at the expense of the town at these meetings.

"The constituted authorities then deemed it proper to patronize the houses they licensed and there does not appear any great disproportion between the amounts charged for dinners and for the liquor that followed them," says Staples in his "Annals of Providence."

"for instance: a bill in the City Clerk's office charges, April 3, 1757, six dinners at 5 pounds 8 shillings; punch two pounds; May 28, seven dinners at 6 pounds 6 shillings; punch 2 pounds." Luke Thurston in a bill similarly preserved, charges for the Town Council, "dinners, &c; dinners and liquor; dinners, punch and wine."

The number of tavern licenses in Providence varied in several years, but generally was between 20 and 30, the highest fee paid being 12 pounds. In 1749 Providence had 31 tavern keepers. There were then 3177 whites, 225 negroes and 50 Indians in the town, a total of 3452, giving an inn for every 111 persons. In 1750 there were 30 taverns, the highest fee being then eight pounds, paid by only three of the tavern keepers.[22]

Providence still is one of the smallest American cities in area although a leader in population, yet until 1868 Parkis Avenue marked its Southern boundary with Cranston, on the Pawtuxet Road, now Broad Street. At the time the Hoyle Tavern was first opened, the town lay for a mile along the Easterly side of Towne Street, the present North and South Main Streets, its later growth first extending up the hillside along which the Proprietor's lots lay, behind this main highway.

[22] Staples' *Annals of Providence*.

Weybosset Bridge, crossing the river to reach the section on the West side which at one time it was proposed to make a separate town with the name Westminster, was several times destroyed by tides and freshets and in 1746, the year in which Obadiah Brown was first described as innholder, was rebuilt with the proceeds of a lottery and widened to 18 feet.

The roads were unbelievedly poor, both in the town and outside it and progress over them was slow—one reason why taverns were often located every mile or so. The earliest travel was by horseback and it was well along in the century that saw the opening of the Hoyle Tavern, before stage coaches became general.

Describing the condition of the roads at the time, Samuel Thurber wrote: "May, 1776, I went to Pomfret, 36 miles, in a chaise; the road was so stony and rough that I could not ride out of a slow walk but very little of the way. I was near two days in going. Such was the general state of our roads at the time.

"About this time there would be, now and then, a person who wanted a passage to Boston. Col. William Brown, who lived quite at the Northeast corner of the town, on a farm, kept what was called a curricle, drawn by two horses; he would be their carrier. It would take him about three days to go and return."[23]

The main roads were improved but little until many of them were taken over as turnpikes by private corporations which collected toll in return for their improvement. These turnpike companies came much later—the Norwich Pike, which began at the Hoyle being opened in 1794 and continuing until 1857. This was a branch of the Douglas and Providence Pike, one of the three turnpikes permitted to enter the town while privately owned. It ran down Westminster to the corner of what is now Stokes Street, thence along the line of Plainfield Street to Cranston, South Sci-

[23] Samuel Thurber's letter in Staples' *Annals of Providence*.

tuate and Richmond, to the Connecticut State line near Oneco.[24]

The Hartford Turnpike, now a State road still known as the Hartford Pike, ran for part of its way over the Providence and Norwich Pike. It extended through Scituate and reached Connecticut at Killingly. With such roads, travel was necessarily slow and a day's journey was a short one. Taverns at frequent intervals were a necessity of the times.

The Hoyle was first a stopping place for farmers and others using the two main roads that passed it on either side and later, as the town grew and living conditions became easier, was a popular place of resort for the young people of the town. It became noted as a place serving good cheer in liquids and food, the objective of sleighing parties in winter and of evening drives in summer.

"Situated as it was, far out in the country, with no bridge to cross the river from the East side, the jovial parties of young men and women had to go far out in the country in their excursions to wind up in a dance and a good time at the Hoyle" says one chronicler. "It was the earliest tavern on the West side.[25]

It is a bit difficult to understand this reference, for such detours were necessary only when Weybosset bridge, which had been built before the tavern was first opened, was in repair or had been carried away. It is possible that this may refer to the tavern opened by Dr. John Hoyle at a much earlier date and situated in Triptown, the present Manton.

This quotation probably refers to the statement of William Woodward, who told Stephen D. Olney "that in the days of his youth when the young folks on that side of the river wanted to get up a dance or ball, they had to go out into the country to get at a tavern to be accomodated, which he said was the old Hoyle Tavern and sometimes on

[24] Providence *Sunday Journal*, January 25, 1890.

[25] *History of Providence County*, Bayles.

account of the bridge being out of repair, they had to go around over Smith's Hill and Olneyville to get at the tavern."[26]

To the end of its career it retained its popularity as a resort for horsemen and farmers and when the buildings were sold at auction in 1890 preparatory to clearing the site, these former customers made up a very considerable part of the crowd attending the sale.

Obadiah Brown must have been successful from the start of his tavern, for its location between two main roads was excellent and its owner continued to buy property. After his death in 1753, his widow Martha carried on the tavern for a quarter century until her death in 1778.[27] The first license found in her name was dated October, 1753. She was allowed to keep a victualling house and to sell liquors on the usual conditions, to preserve order on the premises and to permit no gambling or other unlawful practices.

Widow Martha died at the close of 1778. She had only a life interest in the property which she managed so well for a full quarter-century, the longest tenancy of any license holder in the history of the tavern. She left what must have been a prosperous and profitable inn but there is no record of any other host there until Col. Joseph Hoyle took it over in 1783. He bought the property from the devisees of Obadiah Brown for 2000 "good Spanish milled dollars," which at the scale of depreciation adopted in June, 1781 was equivalent to $320,000 Continental old emission.

Col. Hoyle already owned land in that vicinity and nearer the river, for he had been buying at intervals since 1772, starting with land adjoining his own on Union street, adding a piece near Dock street and in 1777 and 1778 buying from other children of James Hoyle, their shares in the estate of their father.

Some of this land, like that of his sister Phebe whose one

[26] *The Old Taverns of Providence* by Elisha Dyer, in *Narragansett Historical Register*, Vol. 5, No. 2, page 145, October, 1886.

[27] Dr. Franklin C. Clark manuscript.

and one-half acres was an award in her successful suit for her legal share (1778) and that bought in 1782 from Anthony and Lydia Westcott for 108 Spanish milled dollars was described as being "near Widow Martha Brown" so he apparently was reaching out to reunite the acres scattered by his father's death. In the earlier deeds he is termed "cooper" or "cooper, alias yoeman," but from 1777 on he is described as "yoeman." The Providence land records show 17 transfers of realty to him.

The deed was dated April 22, 1783. That was the day on which Providence celebrated the cessation of arms proclaimed by Congress on the 11th of April, following the signing of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain at Versailles in January—the official end of the War for Independence.

The morning opened with a discharge of cannon and the ringing of bells in the town. The Continental frigate Alliance, then in Providence harbor, was decked with flags, as was the rest of the shipping. A civic procession escorted by the Artillery, marched from the house of Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen to the Baptist meeting house, where Rev. Enos Hitchcock, minister of the First Congregational Society of which Dr. John Hoyle was one of the founders, preached a sermon followed by an oration by Asher Robbins, later of Newport but then a tutor at the college here.

After the services at the meeting house, the procession marched to the court house, where the proclamation of Congress for a cessation of arms was read from the balcony, followed by a discharge of cannon from the State House parade, and a battery on the East hill near the beacon. The proclamation was also read in two other places, after which the procession returned to the State House where a dinner was served, followed by 13 toasts, each under a discharge of 13 cannon. In the evening the State House and the Market House, now the Chamber of Commerce building in Market Square, were illuminated and a display of fireworks closed the day.[28]

[28] *Annals of Providence*, Staples.

(*To be concluded*)

# Alleged Runic Inscriptions in Rhode Island

*By* Edmund B. Delabarre

The first hint that the Vinland of the Northmen was in the vicinity of Narragansett Bay was given just about a hundred years ago, by Professor Rafn of Denmark, in the book called *Antiquitates Americanae*. The idea took firm hold of popular imagination and material evidences of the Northmen's presence were eagerly sought and ardently defended.

The evidence to be gathered from the Sagas themselves is conflicting and uncertain. Attempts to interpret it in terms of definite localities have been numerous and vacillating. Of recent writers, Edward F. Gray ("Leif Eriksson," 1930) tries to prove from the saga descriptions that the Norse headquarters were on Martha's Vineyard and Nomansland; while Dr. Wilfred Grenfell ("Romance of Labrador," 1934) is equally sure that they were in Labrador. Both of them examine every item of evidence with skill and care. The reader who, like myself, pretends to no expert knowledge on the subject, is inclined to agree with each as he reads him but to decide in the end that so far the question has not been settled. The situation is well expressed by Henry C. Kittredge in his book on "Cape Cod," where he says: "Human nature too readily bends the large phrases of the sagas to fit the contours of any desired landscape. The wisest men and the best authorities unite in their skepticism regarding all such alleged Norse itineraries."

With reference to alleged material records and indications of their presence, however, the case is entirely different. There is nothing dubious about them. If any unquestionable instance of the sort could be discovered it would be of the utmost importance. Time after time candidates for this dignity have been advanced, but one after another they have fallen in the light of careful examination and sound

criticism. They have been defended with much more of emotional wish to believe than with credible evidence. Nevertheless, the widespread popular desire to prove the presence of Northmen in these regions persists with remarkable but understandable fervor. It never yet has been rewarded by calmly acceptable verification. Like Dighton Rock, the inscribed rocks at Tiverton, Portsmouth, and Mark Rock in Rhode Island have been proved to bear no runic records. Like the famous "skeleton-in-armor" in nearby Massachusetts, the stone tower in Newport has been proved to have had no commerce with the Northmen; it is what remains of a well-authenticated Colonial windmill.

There is a rock on the storm-swept beach of Nomansland which bears an indubitable record in runic letters and a date in Roman numerals. I have studied it carefully, and when I report upon my conclusions I shall give what I believe to be convincing evidence that it was carved certainly not more than a hundred years ago and probably at some time within the present century.

The only other pertinent record in this vicinity is that of the rock lying on the shore near the base of Mount Hope. At the time when I wrote about it some years ago, it was widely believed that it was a Norse runic inscription, but so far as I knew no attempt had been made to translate it except an absurd and unsupported one by Ernest Fales. Very recently I have learned of an unpublished translation by a reputable scholar. I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Dorothy M. Barry of Portland, who has made it possible to add it to the historical data concerning this interesting rock.

On January 29, 1899, John E. Mullaly of Fall River, and a companion whose initials were B E G, chalked the characters on the rock as they saw them, photographed them (see illustration herewith), and sent the photograph to Professor Adrian Scott. Scott had been earlier connected with Brown University as a teacher of Germanic and Scandinavian Philology. He found it possible to see the charac-

THE MOUNT HOPE INSCRIPTION AS PHOTOGRAPHED IN 1899

ters as runic letters, and expressed complete confidence that he had read them correctly. I condense his exposition as much as possible. Anyone can see what Scott believed that he found if he will consult a Table of Runic Letters;* select the ones representing our letters "hallr vakkzt," writing the *l* and *k* only once but attaching a horizontal line underneath each as a sign of its doubling; and then imagine all these letters as rotated a quarter-turn to the right so as to lie sidewise in the line instead of upright. The "hallr" is the nominative form of the proper name "Hall;" the verb "vakka" means "to stray," and the "-zt" is the reflexive sign. Therefore, according to Scott, the whole means: "Hall went astray of himself and was lost here."

There are plenty of good reasons for rejecting this reading of the inscription. The lines as chalked in 1899 are shown in poor perspective, some of them are blurred, and my own later studies prove that many were mistakenly drawn. Scott did not accept them exactly as drawn in more

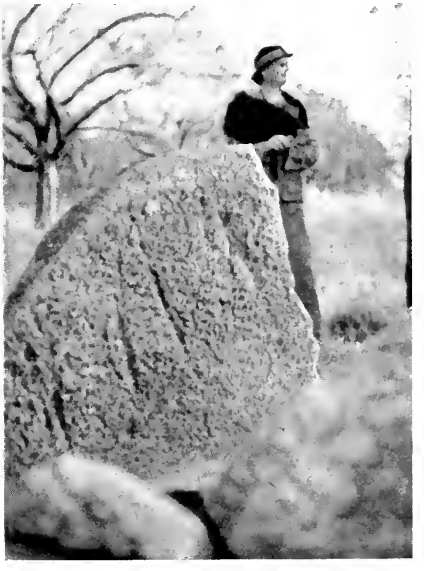
*Runic letters were variable. The Table in the Encyclopedia Americana gives them about as Scott wrote them, except that the runic *u* is to be used for *v*, and *z* is to be taken as the reverse of *t*.

than three or four cases, but supplied much by his own imagination. The message that he found would have been an unbelievably trivial thing for the Northmen to have taken pains to carve, when they left no other and more significant record anywhere on the coast of America. My own Cherokee-Wampanoag reading, attributed to about the year 1834, still remains the most probably correct rendering of the inscription.

In spite of repeated disappointments of the hope that alleged Norse remains may prove to be genuine, new attempts to find and defend them continually arise. Besides actual inscriptions, another class of marks upon rocks must engage our attention in this connection, such as glacial scorings, weathering phenomena, natural veins or intrusions in the rock, or marks due to other natural causes; or such as those produced accidentally by human agency in the course of grinding or ploughing operations. These are seized upon sometimes by the ardent advocates of runic inscriptions as examples of Norse writing. A recent case of this sort deserves examination.

Two letters were received by this Society last August, reporting the existence of a rock with mysterious markings at Chopmist Orchards in North Scituate. The correspondents were very fair in their attitude toward it. As one of them said: "I do not consider myself qualified to give an opinion on the characters; my judgment might be influenced by my hopes." Their hopes, evidently, were that the markings might turn out to be a runic record of genuine antiquity. No one can dispute their right to such a hope.

The problem having been placed in my hands, I went with one of the writers to examine the rock. It is a flattish stone, whose appearance on its marked face is shown in the accompanying photograph. It lies close to the base of a stone wall and evidently has been removed at some time in the past from somewhere within the neighboring orchard. The same is true of numerous other stones lying close to the wall, whose presence there is due clearly to no other cause



A PLOUGH-SCORED ROCK AT CHOPMIST ORCHARDS

than that they had become nuisances in the course of long-ago ploughing of the field.

The right edge of the stone as the photograph shows it measures about 2 feet 7 inches, the base 2 feet 4 inches, the left edge so far as it runs straight about 1 foot 6 inches. The thickness is 1 foot 3 inches at the right side, tapering uniformly to a thin edge at the left. The weight is about 500 pounds. The rock is fine-grained granite. The marked surface is almost flat, with the upper half much pitted and weathered and the lower half smooth, and with a slight angle between the two parts. It seems to have been shaped by glacial action, and not by artificial dressing as one observer suggested. The marks are from 6 to 8 inches long, about ½ inch wide, with a smooth rounded section.

It will be noticed that all the sure scored lines run almost straight in one direction only, vertically in the photograph,

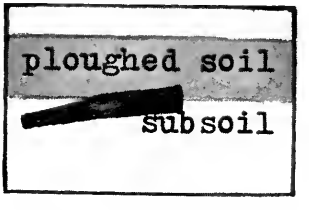
with only slight deviations in direction or curvature. Additional side-lines attached to them, such as would be necessary in order to make them resemble letters of any alphabet, runic or other, have been surmised. I am very sure that all such supposed additional marks are matters of guess-work only, with no support justifying one guess in preference to a dozen others, and are based actually upon weatherings of the rock. Whatever their origin, they are of no least value as evidence of ancient Norse wanderings, and one who seeks signs of the latter can not profitably appeal to any such dubious scratches and pittings in support of his belief.

The clear and indubitable scratches on this stone can be understood most satisfactorily as the scorings of a plough. To this opinion my correspondents have objected that farmers whom they have talked with are agreed that no team of horses would be powerful enough to make marks of such depth on granite, and that no plough could withstand the impact without breaking. The argument which I present below is essentially a repetition of what I have written to them in reply.

The earliest suggestion that markings of this kind could be made by plough was made to me many years ago at Sachuest Point by a farmer, by the side of whose field lay a stone on which I saw what at first I suspected might possibly be Indian pictographs. But he told me that the marks were made by plough, or some by crowbar in getting it out of the field. This was a new idea to me; but on looking around, I found a number of other stones similarly marked lying on the borders of the field and all evidently taken out from it. Since then, searching for Indian relics, I have seen many other examples of similar scorings on stones. There is hardly any possibility that the marks I have in mind were made in any other manner than by a plough. There is no doubt that in a stony field the plough often scrapes along on stones without damage to itself. A big stone lying high enough up to be seen would be avoided, by going around or by lifting over. But one far enough under the surface not to

be a very serious obstacle—though it might become such later by frost-heaving or soil-erosion or otherwise—would be scratched by the plough year after year in different places and to different depths, and no farmer would know or care how deeply he had scratched it if didn't annoy him much.

The ice-age was lavish in its gifts of glacial boulders to the fields of New England. In relatively few of them, of course, are the boulders such flattish slabs as we are considering; but such cases exist in fair numbers. In any one of them, few of the stones would be likely to lie with the upper surface nearly parallel to the surface of the ground and at just the right depth to engage the nose of a plough lightly; but there might easily be a number of them; and some of them might become worse obstacles as time went on, and eventually get dug out. The Chopmist stone may have lain originally with the now marked half of its face projecting just a little into the tilled soil, where it would become gradually roughened by weathering influences; and with the smooth half buried in the subsoil and so protected from such decay. If the ploughing was done repeatedly in the




same direction, along the gentle upslope of the stone, the plough would slide across it without much difficulty. It would get hit, year after year, in different places, rarely if ever twice in exactly the same way. A number of nearly parallel marks would be made upon it, sometimes running straight, sometimes a little curved. If now such natural agencies as I have mentioned at last brought the stone nearer to the surface and made it more of an obstacle, or if the direction of ploughing was reversed so that the stone

was hit squarely against its most projecting part, then conceivably the plough might break; but also it might happen that a stone no heavier than this would get dislodged slightly. In either case, the farmer might become exasperated enough to dig it out. The abundance of flattish stones now lying in and alongside such a field as that at Chopmist, and the one at Sachuest Point, and elsewhere, shows that farmers have often gone to that trouble. It is very sure that they would rarely take any interest in the marks that had previously been made on the stones. They might have later beliefs that the strength of horses and the resistance of ploughs to breaking would be inadequate for the production of such grooves as we find on the Chopmist stone. But they would not have founded those opinions upon actual observation.

I feel sure that the only Chopmist marks which can be accepted as due to human agency are the approximately vertical ones. If not made by plough, I would have to believe that they were somehow made by nature, perhaps as glacial scratches. A few further considerations are strongly in favor of the plough theory. The fields where I have observed stones thus marked have been under cultivation for a very long time. In old days oxen were used for cultivation much more often than horses. Oxen are more powerful and patient. Their slower motion and persistent pull would involve much less strain upon the plough and would produce these effects more easily. I am assured by an expert geologist, Professor Charles W. Brown, that fine-grained granite would take such marks without difficulty; though hard, it is not too resistant to abrasion. Finally, a pretty fair test of a theory is its capacity to serve as basis for successful prediction. After studying the Chopmist stone, I expressed the belief that there must be other stones within the orchard or alongside it, with similar markings on them; and without giving much time to the search, we found one lying on the stone wall.

In the light of these considerations, a stone found in

Hampton, New Hampshire, becomes a useful bit of corroborative evidence. I have spoken of it somewhat dubiously in earlier writings. Since then I have found the original and full description of it, in the Boston Weekly Journal for July 18, 1902. The writer says that the stone had been discovered not more than 20 years earlier, that it lies in the earth with its face near the top of the ground, and that the field has been under tillage for over 150 years. This description, and the pictures of the markings (one version of which I published in my book on "Dighton Rock") leave me confident that it is another case of plough-marks. Yet, along with many other impossible cases, it has been confidently accepted by many persons as a relic of the Northmen.

There are only two alleged runic records anywhere in America about which there is any present controversy: those at Yarmouth in Nova Scotia and at Kensington in Minnesota. I leave them in the hands of the disputants. Within the limits of New England, nothing which has ever yet been advocated as a material relic or record of the Vinland voyages has the least chance of being accepted by competent scholars as anything of the sort.

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

*A History of South Kingstown by Charles Comstock, 1806*, has been privately reprinted by William Davis Miller, Esq.

*A Letter written by Maj. John Talcott from Mr. Stanton's at Quonocontaug*, July 4, 1677 has been issued by the Society of Colonial Wars in Rhode Island as a pamphlet of 15 pages, including two maps by Norman M. Isham.

*More Recollections of the Hoppin Family* collected by Eliza Hoppin Richmond Waller, December, 1934, is a pamphlet of 22 pages, containing an account of her family written in 1868 by Mrs. Harriet Dunn Hoppin ("Mother

Auton") and notes upon Claude Gabriel, the colored man who became body servant to the Czar Alexander.

A sermon on the Right Rev. George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, preached by the Rev. A. A. Luce, D.D., on Sept. 12, 1934, and printed in the *Church of Ireland Gazette* for Sept. 28, 1934, has been presented by Mrs. Richard Rathborne Graham.

Three early pictures of the French fleet at Newport are reproduced in the February 1935 issue of the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings;* D'Estaing forcing the entrance into Newport, August 8, 1778 (p. 155), The French fleet leaving the Newport offing for Boston, August 21, 1778( page 157), and Arrival of French army and escort, 1780 (page 160).

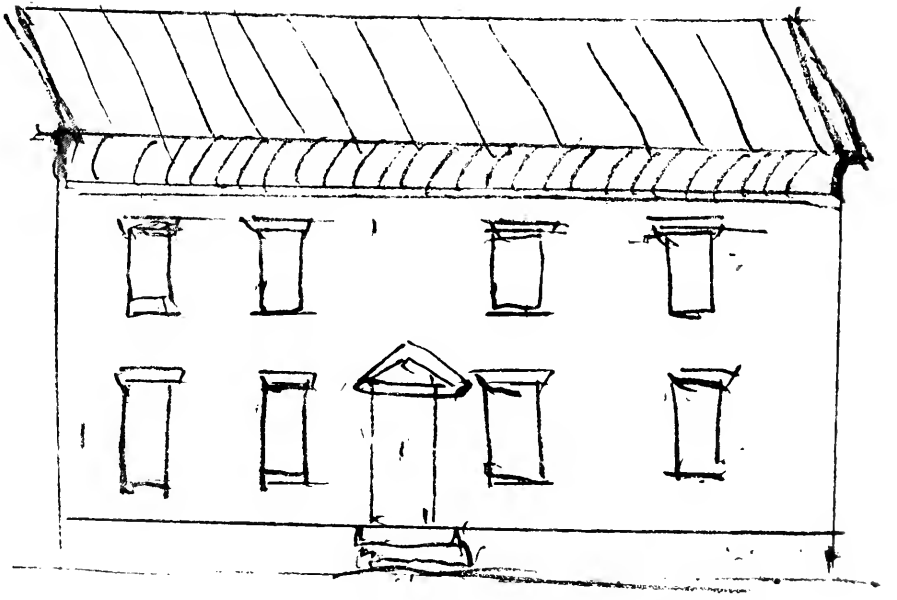
## Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. Henry L. P. Beckwith
Rev. Arthur H. Bradford
Mr. Edgar Brunschwig
Miss Adelaide Knight
Mrs. Philip C. Sheldon
Mrs. Helen C. Vose

The Rhode Island Historical Society reminds its members and friends of its very special interest in the materials of local history. Early pamphlets or books printed in Rhode Island, newspapers or periodicals published in Rhode Island, and printed or manuscript material bearing on Rhode Island history are earnestly solicited as gifts. At the present time the Society is particularly desirous of obtaining the following books:

Newport Directory 1934
Pawtucket Directory 1934
Providence Directory 1935
Woonsocket Directory 1934
Westerly Directory 1933-34
Providence Tax Book 1934
Cranston Tax Book 1934
Warwick Tax Book 1934
Pawtucket Tax Book 1934



FACADE OF GABRIEL BERNON'S HOUSE ON NORTH MAIN ST., PROVIDENCE

*From pencil sketch drawn by Zachariah Allen from memory, now in the Society's library*

# Rhode Island Historical Society

## Treasurer's Report

### INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1934

RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual Dues | $2,400.00 |
| Dividends and Interest | 4,047.55 |
| Rental of Rooms | 100.00 |
| State Appropriation | 1,500.00 |
| | $8,047.55 |
| Expenditures exceed income | 182.87 |
| | $8,230.42 |

EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Binding | $ 116.33 |
| Books | 340.67 |
| Electric Light and Gas | 36.40 |
| Lectures and Exhibitions | 139.84 |
| Expense | 116.00 |
| Grounds and Building | 358.33 |
| Heating | 700.00 |
| Newspaper | 19.10 |
| Publication | 582.36 |
| Salaries | 5,580.00 |
| Supplies | 169.61 |
| Telephone | 63.78 |
| Water | 8.00 |
| | $8,230.42 |

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1934

RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Reserve Fund | $ 9.00 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | 35.71 |
| New York Central Railroad Company, Rights Sold | 111.85 |
| | $ 156.56 |
| Balance January 1, 1934 | 2,496.69 |
| | $2,653.25 |

PAYMENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Reserve Fund | $ 77.99 |
| Balance December 31, 1934 | 2,575.26 |
| | $2,653.25 |

## STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1934

### Assets

| | |
|---|---|
| Grounds and Building | $ 25,000.00 |

Investments:

Bonds

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| $4,000. | Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Power Co. 1st 5s, 1953 | $3,228.88 |
| 3,000. | Central Mfg. District 4½s, 1941 | 3,000.00 |
| 3,000. | Cleveland Elec. Illuminating Co. 5s, 1939 | 2,565.42 |
| 4,000. | Dominion of Government of Canada, 5s, 1952 | 4,003.91 |
| 1,000. | Western Electric Co. 5s, 1944 | 998.17 |
| 4,000. | 61 Broadway Bldg., 1st Mtge. 5½s, 1950 | 4,000.00 |
| 4,000. | Minnesota Power & Light Co. 1st 5s, 1955 | 3,930.00 |
| 4,000. | Monongahela Valley Traction Co. 1st 5s, 1942 | 3,685.00 |
| 2,000. | Ohio Power Co. 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952 | 1,974.00 |
| 2,000. | Narragansett Electric Co. 1st 5s, 1957 | 1,980.00 |
| 2,000. | Shell Union Oil Corporation 5s, 1947 | 1,979.00 |
| 2,000. | Koppers Gas & Coke Co. 5s, 1947 | 1,962.00 |
| 1,000. | Indianapolis Power & Light Co. 1st 5s, 1957 | 994.50 |
| 1,000. | Texas Power & Light Co. 1st Ref. 5s, 1956 | 1,021.25 |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania Railroad Co. Deb. 4½s, 1970 | 922.50 |
| 1,000. | Pennsylvania Water & Power Co. 1st 5s, 1940 | 1,005.42 |

### Stocks

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54 shs. New York Central Railroad Co. | $3,654.62 | |
| 125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Co. | 7,638.35 | |
| 30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. | 2,112.50 | |
| 7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Corp'n., Pfd. | 235.39 | |
| 40 shs. Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Co., Pfd. | 3,900.00 | |
| 64 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co. | 5,960.05 | |
| 350 shs. Providence Gas Co. | 5,755.68 | |
| 15 shs. Providence National Bank<br>30 shs. Merchants' National Bank Bldg. | 1,800.00 | |
| 45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank | 1,050.00 | |
| 52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Rwy. Co., Common | 6,247.85 | |
| 20 shs. American Power & Light Co. | 1,696.50 | |
| 30 shs. Standard Gas & Electric Co. 4% Pfd. | 1,906.50 | |
| 35 shs. Public Service Corp'n. of N. J. 5% Pfd. | 3,327.63 | |
| 10 shs. Public Service Corp'n. of N. J. 5% Pfd. | 990.00 | |
| 10 shs. Electric Bond & Share Co. 5% Pfd. | 922.00 | |
| | | 84,447.62 |
| Cash on hand—$1,484.81 Inc.<br>2,575.26 Princ. | | 4,060.07 |
| | | $113,507.69 |

### Liabilities

| | |
|---|---|
| Equipment Fund | $ 25,000.00 |
| Permanent Endowment Fund: | |
| Samuel M. Noyes | $12,000.00 |
| Henry J. Steere | 10,000.00 |
| James H. Bugbee | 6,000.00 |
| Charles H. Smith | 5,000.00 |
| William H. Potter | 3,000.00 |
| Charles W. Parsons | 4,000.00 |
| Esek A. Jillson | 2,000.00 |
| John Wilson Smith | 1,000.00 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William G. Weld | $1,000.00 | |
| Charles C. Hoskins | 1,000.00 | |
| Charles H. Atwood | 1,000.00 | |
| Edwin P. Anthony | 4,000.00 | |
| John F. Street | 1,000.00 | |
| George L. Shepley | 5,000.00 | |
| Franklin Lyceum Memorial | 734.52 | |
| | | $56,734.52 |
| Publication Fund: | | |
| Robert P. Brown | $ 2,000.00 | |
| Ira P. Peck | 1,000.00 | |
| William Gammell | 1,000.00 | |
| Albert J. Jones | 1,000.00 | |
| William Ely | 1,000.00 | |
| Julia Bullock | 500.00 | |
| Charles H. Smith | 100.00 | |
| | | 6,600.00 |
| Life Membership | | 5,600.00 |
| Book Fund | | 3,012.41 |
| Reserve Fund | | 974.13 |
| Revolving Publication Fund | | 200.95 |
| Surplus | | 13,900.87 |
| Surplus Income Account | | 1,484.81 |
| | | $113,507.69 |

Providence, R. I., January 8th, 1935.

Respectfully submitted,

G. A. Harrington,
*Treasurer*

We have examined the securities belonging to the Society and find them in agreement with the list herewith.

William Davis Miller
John H. Wells

## Form of Legacy

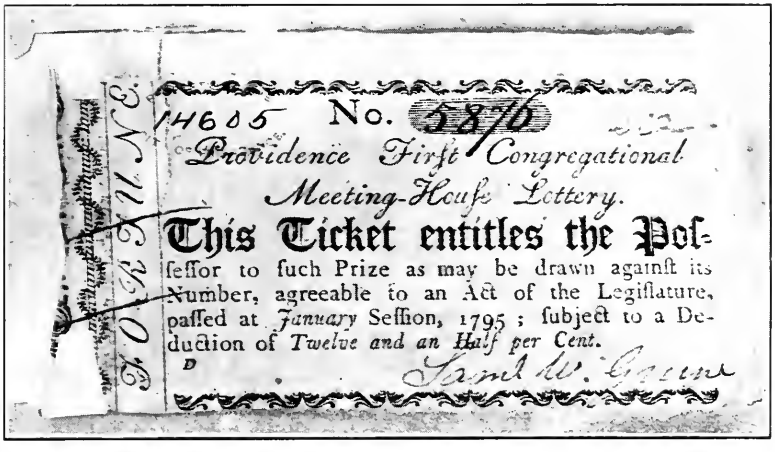
*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of*
*dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

Providence

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXVIII JULY, 1935 No. 3


14685 No. 5870

Providence First Congregational Meeting-House Lottery.

This Ticket entitles the Poſ-

ſeſſor to ſuch Prize as may be drawn againſt its Number, agreeable to an Act of the Legiſlature, paſſed at *January* Seſſion, 1795; ſubject to a Deduction of *Twelve and an Half per Cent.*

D

A RHODE ISLAND LOTTERY TICKET OF 1795

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVIII JULY, 1935 No. 3

H. ANTHONY DYER, *President* GILBERT A. HARRINGTON, *Treasurer*
HOWARD W. PRESTON, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

# The Roger Williams Seals in the Egerton Manuscripts

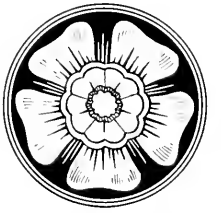
*By* JAMES E. ERNST

Two manuscript letters written by Roger Williams to Lady Joan Barrington, of Hatfield Priory, Co. Essex, are now in the British Museum, in the Egerton MSS Coll. 2643, ff 3-6. Each of these two letters is sealed with a different seal. The seals used by Mr. Williams on these letters differ from the armorial seal used by him in 1637-1638 on letters to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts Bay.

On the letter of May 2, 1629, Egerton MSS 2643, ff 304, Roger Williams used an armorial seal, bearing a fleur-de-lis.

On the undated letter, which was undoubtedly written before that of May 2, 1629, Egerton MSS 2643, ff 5-6, Williams sealed with a seal bearing as its device a rose.

The armorial seal used by Williams in 1637-1638, on letters to Governor Winthrop, has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. The letters are printed in the M. H. S. C. 4, VI, 231-3; 242-4; 248-9; 252-3; 254-6; 266-7. Mr. Howard M. Chapin has fully discussed the difficulties which



the seal presents in a recent article in the R. I. H. S. C., Vol. XXII, No. 3, pp. 89 ff. Rider's *Book Notes*, No. 11, p. 109, illustrates the seal and shows the lion rampant with tail curled outward. Mr. Chapin gives the seal as "a lion rampant within an orle of nine partly obliterated charges." If as Dr. Bowditch suggests the "charges" are "pheons," a solution of the ancestry of Roger Williams may be hoped for. I have recently examined the seals in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library and find that, contrary to Mr. Rider's statement, the tail actually turns toward the body.

# Proposed Iron Works at Providence in 1655

The earliest reference to an attempt to establish the metal trades in Providence appears in a letter of Roger Williams dated January 22, 1650-51 and addressed to the Inhabitants of the town of Providence, in which he wrote, "I have been sollicited and have promised my helpe about Iron worcks, when the matter is ripe, earnestly desirous everie way to further the good of the Towne of Providence."[1]

It is interesting to note that one of Roger Williams' dreams was for Providence to develop into a manufacturing and industrial center, a dream not destined to accomplishment until a century after his death.

The chief promoter of the scheme for establishing iron works in Providence was Mr. Joshua Foote, a citizen and iron-monger of London, who according to Savage[2] had extensive business dealings with New England during the years 1644 to 1652. Savage says that he came to New England in 1653 and settled at Roxbury, soon removing to Providence.

He was certainly living in England in 1644 and 1647 in each of which years he contributed £5 for the use of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.[3] After his arrival in New England he became associated with the manufacture of iron here and appears in 1653 and 1654 as one of the three "commissioners and attorneys" for the Company of the Iron Works at Hammersmith[4] and Braintree in New England in the lengthy lawsuits in the Essex County courts.

In June 1651 a Mr. Foote appears as surety for a defend-

[1]Prov. Rec. XV, 40, 043.

[2]Also see Aspinwall's Notarial Records.

[3]N. E. H. & G. R. 36, p. 68 and 39, p. 179. E. C. Q. C. 1, p. 401.

[4]Hammersmith is that part of Lynn in which the iron works were located.

ant in the Essex County Quarterly Court[5] and as it seems probable this is Mr. Joshua Foote, it follows that he came to New England in or before 1651.

In February 1654-55 Williams wrote: "Mr. Foote has once and again moved for Iron Works at Providence. He told me that you had speech with him about his getting iron men to Pequot.[6] but he thought yourself would be willing to promote the work as well here as there, and therefore promised me to write to you. If I had power in my hand I would venture to such a public good, and however would gladly contribute all assistance, especially if your loving spirit and experience be pleased to give encouragement."[7]

In a postscript Williams adds: "Mr. Foot is said (at present) to resolve for the Dutch: upon occasion of my declaring against his man, Mr. Fowler's disorderly marriage in Mr. Foot's house, without any publication, and upon that occasion my refusing to promote the Iron Works as yet; he is displeased, and speaks of departure. I truly love and pity the man, yet surely from him have the Indians been furnished with store of liquors, from his house have the incivilities of our own town been much encouraged, and much evil report he hath incurred about this marriage. He saith he knew not of it 'till over night. But (although the pretended marriage was not) it may be resolved on before over night, yet I am sorry to hear such talk in the town of what he knew before."[8]

Joshua Foote describing himself as citizen and "iremonger" of London now resident in Providence in New England on October 2, 1655 made his will which he signed with his mark in the presence of William Blackstone. He made Lieut. Joshua Hewes and Henry Fowler executors and trustees and left all his property to his wife and

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[5]N. E. H. & G. R. 1, p. 229.
[6]New London.
[7]N. C. VI, 284.
[8]N. C. VI, 286.

children.[9] Among his creditors were Joseph Jenckes, Senior, and Joseph Jenckes, Junior, both iron workers. The latter was destined to start iron works at Providence as Foote had planned to do.

Foote died in October, for on October 31, power of administration was granted to "Lieft Joshua Hewes" (N. E. H. & G. R. 5, p. 444). Apparently Hewes acted in Massachusetts Bay and Fowler in Rhode Island.

On May 7, 1656 William Barrows brought suit against Henry Fowler complaining that Mr. Foote and Mr. Fowler had received sixteen shillings more than was due to them upon their account. Henry Fowler asked for time to have the books, now at Boston, examined.[10] Barrows brought two suits against Fowler at this time, apparently one against Fowler personally and one against Fowler as "administrator" of Mr. Foote's estate.

At the same court Samuel Bennet brought suit against "Henry Fowler as administrator unto Mr. Foote" for twenty-four shillings damage for a calf that was killed by Mr. Foote's dogs.[11]

Such are the meagre facts in regard to Mr. Foote's project to establish iron works at Providence. As there are no actual references to iron works at Providence in 1655, it has been generally supposed that Foote's project did not materialize.

However, there are certain indications which point to the possibility that Foote did establish iron works at Providence between February 1655, the date of Williams' letter, and October 1655, the date of Foote's death.

In the first place Foote did not remove from Providence in February or March 1655 to some other place, but remained in Providence for seven or eight months until his death.

In 1682 William Hudson is described as "formerly an

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[9]N. E. H. & G. R. 5, p. 444.
[10]Prov. Rec. I, 114 and XV, 71.
[11]P. R. I, 114.

Apprentice of Joshua Foot," and is given leave and liberty to buy land at Providence. At this same time Daniel Jenckes was also given liberty to abide in Providence whereby he may learn and perfect his trade of his brother Joseph Jenckes. Doubtless both Hudson and Daniel Jenckes worked in Joseph Jenckes' forge.

Why should Hudson, an iron worker, in 1682, over twenty-five years after Foote's death, be described before the Providence Town Council as "formerly an apprentice of Joshua Foote," unless Foote had actually established and operated for a while his proposed iron works at Providence.

That Foote was engaged in some sort of business while in Providence is shown by the suits brought in May 1656 by Barrows. That the suits related to the operations of Foote and Fowler and not to the operations of the Company of the Iron Works in New England is shown by the fact that the suits were against Foote and Fowler and not against the commissioners and attorneys for the Iron Works Company.

## Ships' Protests

For a sea-captain to appear before a notary public, and swear out a formal protest against the sea and the wind for damages that his ship has had the misfortune to suffer, sounds like a ridiculous incident in a musical comedy, yet such is actually the proper legal procedure sanctioned by centuries of legal precedent and maritime custom. Sawyer,[1] writing in 1840, tells us that "it is usual for shipmasters immediately after arriving in port from a foreign voyage, to enter a general protest, to be extended upon afterwards. Where practical, it should be done before a notary public. This he does, whether he is aware of having sustained any damage from perils of the sea or not. If, afterwards, either at that port, or at any other, he finds that the ship or cargo

[1]Frederick W. Sawyer in *The Merchants' and Shipmasters' Guide*, Boston, 1840.

did sustain damage from such perils, while on the passage, he may then extend upon his general protest."

The earliest ship's protest on record in Rhode Island was noted in 1645 at a time when there was no Vice Admiralty court in the colony. John Dolling of "Uncaway," merchant, and part owner of the ship *Virgin*, then lying at anchor in Newport harbor, drew up a protest, or "protestation" as he called it, on January 4, 1645, in which he noted his protest against the sailing of the *Virgin* in such an "unseasonable time." He noted this protest before Mr. Jeremy Clark, one of the magistrates, who had the sergeant serve the document on Thomas Newton, master of the *Virgin*. The copy of the protest, with the details connected with its delivery, was entered on the minutes of the Quarter Court held at Newport on January 6, 1645. This protest, it will be noted, preceded the damage that might be expected to occur, and so differs in some respects from the customary ship's protest.

A temporary Vice Admiralty Court existed during the Dutch War of 1653 and 1654, after which the colony was without such a court for about forty years. The next protest, the earliest ship's protest in typical form recorded in Rhode Island, was noted during this period. John Herbert, commander of the sloop *Swan*, appeared before John Coggeshall, and with two witnesses, Israel Spencer and John Harcer, both mariners on the *Swan*, noted his protest "against the sea, winde and bad wether for all Losses."

Curiously enough this protest was recorded in the first volume of Land Evidences, a place where one would scarcely look for maritime records. The explanation seems to be that the colony owned so few record books that the clerk entered the protest there for want of any better place to record it. Two more protests were noted within the next two months, all three being noted before John Coggeshall, General Recorder of the Colony, and an Assistant.[2]

No more protests were recorded for over a decade, and then on November 30, 1689 John Christopher, master of

[2]The members of the upper house were termed "Assistants."

the good barque *Reserve* of New London, appeared before John Coggeshall, who was at this time Deputy Governor, and noted a protest.

These few scattered protests give us an idea of the hardships of the colonial mariners and of the weakness of their vessels. They do not, however, give us any idea of the number of vessels employed in our early colonial commerce, nor any idea as to the frequency of disasters.

It was not customary in early colonial days to enter the "general protests," mentioned as customary in 1840, but only to enter protests when actual damage had been done. Even in that case, protests were not always noted, a condition that might be expected from the irregularity in maritime law and usage that prevailed in those days.

Ships' protests became more numerous during the reign of King William and of Queen Anne, or at least more records of them have come down to our time. Abstracts of those recorded in the second volume of Rhode Island Land Evidences are printed herewith together with the four already mentioned.

Those of the *Two Brothers* (1695), the *Olive Branch* (1695), and the *Diamond* (1696), were sworn before Samuel Cranston as Assistant; that of the *Experiment* (1695) before Nicholas Carr, Head Warden of Jamestown; those of the *William* (1696), and the *Providence* (1697) before Walter Clarke, the Governor, and the others from 1698 to 1704 before Samuel Cranston, the Governor.

The form of the protest is changed slightly in 1701, thereafter the shipmaster appearing first before the notary public and then acknowledging the protest before the Governor.

* * * *

Mr John dolling of vncaway[3] merchant having part of, & goods in a shipp lately brought to Anchor in Nuport Harbor & being unwilling that she should dept in an unseonable time drew up a protestacon And by the Authoritie of Mr Jeremy Clark being on of the magistrates sent the serjant

[3]Fairfield, Conn.

therwth to the master of the sd shipp, who gave affedavitt this prsent Court of the ddrie therof into the hands of Thomas Newton Master of the sd shipp or vessell, wch protest the said John dolling peticoned this Court to be entered into the Records thereof the better to give Evidence therof to such whom afterwards it might further Concern

I John Dolling of uncaway Merchant doe by these presents as Aturney for John Richbell Merchant, and for myself, Protest against the setting sayle of the shipp Virgin now at Anchor in the Road of Nuport and doe hereby deliver that itt is by me this present day Protested wittness my hand this 4 of Janu: Ano: 1645

pr mee John dolling

Before me Jeremy Clarke the day & yeare above written. Supers To Thomas Newton Master of the said shipp. (R. I. C. R., p. 33.)

Newport on Rhod-Island February 26th 1676.

. . . be it knowne . . . That . . . did Personally apeare before me John Coggeshall . . . John Herbert Commander of the Sloope Swan; and did Alleage . . . by the Testimonies of these Wittnesses . . . Israell Spencer and John Harcer, marriners aboard the - sloope . . . on the 13th . . . being on A voyage . . . bound for New-York, they were by Tempestuous wind and seas, and . . . Darkness of the Wether Concurring, forced A shore upon the Sandy point of Monnainoy . . . on behalfe of himselfe and Company, and alsoe for the owners of the - Sloope, . . . doth - Publickly . . . Protest against the sea, winde, and bad wether, for all Losses. . . . (R. I. L. E. I, 128.)

Newport . . . March 28th 1677.

. . . on the . . . Date hereof did . . . appear before mee . . . John Coggeshall . . . John Goose Comander of the Ketch Society, with his Company . . . and doth . . . enter their Protest against the said Ketch[4] for her Insufficienty to

[4] "Ketch" is the name applied to a two masted vessel, the mainmast being stepped about amidships, and a shorter mast being stepped near the stern, but there is reason to believe that in the seventeenth century the term "ketch" was applied to small vessels carrying lateen sails.

indure the sea . . . in ordinary wether her seames would open . . . and when they carryed sayle, . . . she would - take in soe much water to Lee-ward, . . . that we were forced to keepe the pumps goeing . . .

John Goose
signed
Thomas X Banfield
Edward X. Barton
his marke

John Cheritrie
Passongers
Ralfe Blackhall
Frances Ellis

(I, 136)

Newport . . . Aprill 11th 1677.

. . . on the . . . Date hereof, did . . . Samuell Andrews, Comander of the Ketch Providence, and did . . . Prove by . . . these Wittnesses . . . John Weeden, John Coe, Thomas Rapere, Marriners aboard the sayd Ketch, that . . . Samuell Andrews being on a Voyage with the sayd Ketch, . . . bound for New-York, they were by Tempestuous wind and Seas, . . . and very firce Raigne Concurring, forced A shore Upon A sandy Beach, on Rhod-Island . . . being open to the Otion,[5] and very great Brakers, . . . on behalfe of himselfe and Company . . . doth . . . Protest . .

John Coggeshall, Asst

(I, 137)

. . . We John Christophers Master, Jeffery Christophers Mate &c. belonging to the good barque[6] Reserve of New London, . . . bound from Barbados to Newport . . . being at Sea, On tuesday the Twentie Ninth Day of October Last past, In the Latitude of Thirtie Nine Degrees and thirtie five Minits by dead reckoning . . . Mett with a most violent and Tempestuous storm, . . . that wee were forced to Lye by or a Hull, wind being at South East. On Wednesday . . . the thirtith day we were forced to Scudd with bare poles in a most Violent and great Sea breaking over us and . . . bare-

[5]Ocean.

[6]The term "barque" in the seventeenth century referred to the size of the vessel, rather than to the rig, and usually was applied to a small vessel of from 30 to 150 tons, often rigged as a sloop.

ing away . . . all hogsheads and Casque from off our deck . . . Wee . . . do . . . Protest and exclaim against the Seas according to Custome . . . thirtieth day of November One thousand Six Hundred Eighty and nine . . .

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . John Christophers | John Christophers |
| Geffery Christophers & | Jeffrey Christophers |
| Benjamin Waters . . . the | the marke and seall of |
| Last day of Novemb 1689 & | X |
| swore . . . to the truth . . . | Benjamin Waters |

John Coggeshall Depty Govr: (I, 1395)

John Many of the City of New Yorke in his majtty Province of New Yorke in America marriner Sendeth Greeting . . . I the Sd John Many Mas of the Sloope two Brothers belonging to Sd New York having According to Order navigated Said Sloope from Said New York to Surranam[7] And thare took in Lading for the Sd Citty of New Yorke Wee Sailled in Sd Sloop from Perramaryber[8] in Sd Surranam the Second of November 1695 & was bound directly for Sd New York In the Lattitude of twenty Seven degrees wee Meet with A vyolent Storme wind at west & west south west Shifting Against to A Every point of the Compos Raysed A greatt sea which Roked us fore And Aft Shifting our goods in the hold In so much that wee had Like to have bene foundred And all most without hope of Saving Sd vessell And our Lives And doe feare that damage is done to the goods in the hold the which Said storme held us Neare three weeks In fifty two days from Sd port in Surranam wee Made the Land of Marthers Vinard being durty weather wee came to Anchor the next Morning heaving up or Anchor it breake of in the Shank Near the Cross wee Stood for the westward the wind blowing very hard & durty weather wee Came to Anchor under nomans Land in the Night the wind Luning wee Indevered to way in So doeing of which our Cable broke then wee Stood Away for

[7] Surinam or Dutch Guiana in South America.
[8] Paramaribo.

Rhoad Island where wee Arrived the twenty forth Day of this Instant without Any Anchor So that what Damage is Done to the sd vessell And goods was through the voyalance of the wind & sea tharefore I Doe protest Against the Same as being the ocation thareof Christopher phogland Mate of Sd vessell Stephen vallue Mark forentine Peter Virgroe foremastmen Doe Mannifest And declare to the truth of All the Above Written And Doe heare by protest with Said master . . . In testamony of which with the Sd Master & Mate have heare unto Subscribed our Names

John Manny Mr
Christopher phogland mate
Stephen vallau
Marke fullintine
his X marke

The Above Sd John Many Mr Christopher phogland mate Stephen vallue Marke florintine Peter virgoe foremastmen belonging to the Sd Sloope two brothers on their Sollom Engagment Declared the truth of what Above Written Dated Newport on Rhoad Island Desembr: 25th 1695

Samll Cranston Ast (II, 29)

. . . Wee Benjamin Brittman of Salam in the province of the Massathusets Bay . . . of New England Marriner & Master of the Barque Ollive Branch belonging to Sd Salam And Jeames Hardy of Sd Salam Marriner And Mate of Sd vessell And John Tapley Boatswain of Sd vessell In behalfe of our Selves And the Rest of the Company doth . . . declare that being at the Island of barbados And bound with Said vessell for Sd Salam Saylled from thence the Seventh day of november Last past And Stod for or designed port of Salem Afore Sd on the Second Day of this Instant being then in the Lattitude of 34 degrees 50 minnitts Came up A violent Storme of winde at west South west Shifting &c which Raised A greatt Sea & the next morning betwene six And Seven A clock on the Shift of the wind to North west the Sea took our vessell on the Larbord Side filled our Mast And Shifted the goods in the hold wee feare to the greatt

Damage of the Same tharefore wee as Afore Sd Doe heareby mannifest or protest Against the Sea as being the Ocation thareof Wittness our hands in newport . . . Afore Sd whare wee Arived the 27th of Desembr 1695 . . .

Benja Bickman[9]
Jeames Hardy
John Tapley (II, 30)

. . . be it know . . . that on the sixteen day of desembr . . . 1695 . . . Richard Willy And Danll Hobart Comander & Master of the Ship Experiment of Barbados Burden one hundred And Six tunns or thare Abouts plantation Built Came before mee Nicholas Carr hed wardding of the town of Jeames town on the Island Connott in the Govrment of Rhoad Island . . . And they Declared unto mee that on the fifteenth day of this Instant they Sett Sayle from Rhoad Island laden with horses[10] provitions And Lumber bound for Barbados And on the Same day About two or three of the Clock After none being of of the Beaver Taile Somthing to the Northward which is A point of dangres Rocks Lying Southward from Sd Island, And being pritty nigh In with Sd Shore with the wind at north north west A Small Gayle the Sd wind dyed Away at once And Emediately breaced up at South East filled all their Sailes A back whare upon they Emediately Braced their Sailes to the wind And kept their boat A head for feare of mistaying, Stays with the helpe of which their Said Ship Stayed & their they filled their Sailes with their Starboard Tack on bord Still keeping their boat Ahead Indevouring to Stand Of Shore but the wind being So Small & the Swell of the Sea heaving Into the Shore that notwithstanding their boat being Ahead their Sd Ship Could not gitt Steredgeway but drove into the Shore then they Lett Run An Anchor & halled up their Sailes but the water being Deepe their Anchor Came home Although they veried out Cable with All dexterity & Expedition possible but the Anchor Still Draging home their Sd

[9]Bickman in acknowledgment.

[10]Cf. note 1, page 7 of Sanford Papers, published by R. I. Hist. Society.

Ship Cast in betwene two Rocks it being About halfe ebb whare their Sd Ship Emediately grounded & About five O clock After None their Sd Ship Bildged on the Sd Rock And filled their Sd Ship with water which caused hir to fall over on hir Starbord bildge which drownded All their horses Exsept Six which Swimed on Shore Thare fore the Sd Richard Willy & Danll Hobart Above Sd Requested mee the fore Sd head warding of the town of Jeamestown Afore Said to make this publique Instrument of protest . . . Whare upon I the Said head warding . . . doe protest Against the Shifting of the wind & Swelling of the Sea for All Costs Losses And damages . . . Sustained by Marchts And Owners of the Sd Ship & goods on bord of Said Ship as the Onely & Sole Cause And Ocation thare of And not Otherwise In testamony whare of I have heare unto Sett my hand & affixed my Seall . . .

Swarn before mee

Nicholas Carr Warden X

| | |
|---|---|
| Johnathan Pemberton Mate | |
| Jacob Conklyn botsswaine | Nathanll Townsend |
| Caleb Wheller Carpertor | Ambros Langley |
| Thomas Wiggen | frances Kittring |
| Thomas Rimington | Samuell Broston |
| Samll Stevens | Robart Ashford (II, 33) |

. . . Wee under Written belonging to the Sloope Called the dimond whare of Nicholas Ingolsbey is Commander now Riding In the harbor of Newport in Rhoad Island from the Island of Barbados which Sd Sloope was Laded in the Sd Island of barbados . . . about the Midded of Apriell Last past & putt in A porster Ready to Saile for the Owner Intrest and fraiters Advantage but by the Restraint of princes & Authority of kingly power the Sd Sloope was Imbarqued In the Road of the Sd Island of barbados foure Munths or more with hir lading on bord in which time wee Judge that thare may be Considerable Damage to the

frayters in their good And for our Security from Damage that belong to the Sd Sloope And Cargo Doe According to Law in Such Cases provided make . . . this our Publick protest Against the Restraint of Authority in the Sd Islands by kingly power of Imbargue into the Publicq Records of the Collony of Rhoad Island . . . for All Damages that wee have Sustained . . . by Reason as Afore Sd Attested under our hands before Authority this 15th day of August 1696 . . .

Nich Ingoldby Master
Robart Lad Mate
John Clarke
Henry X Halbord his marke (II, 45)

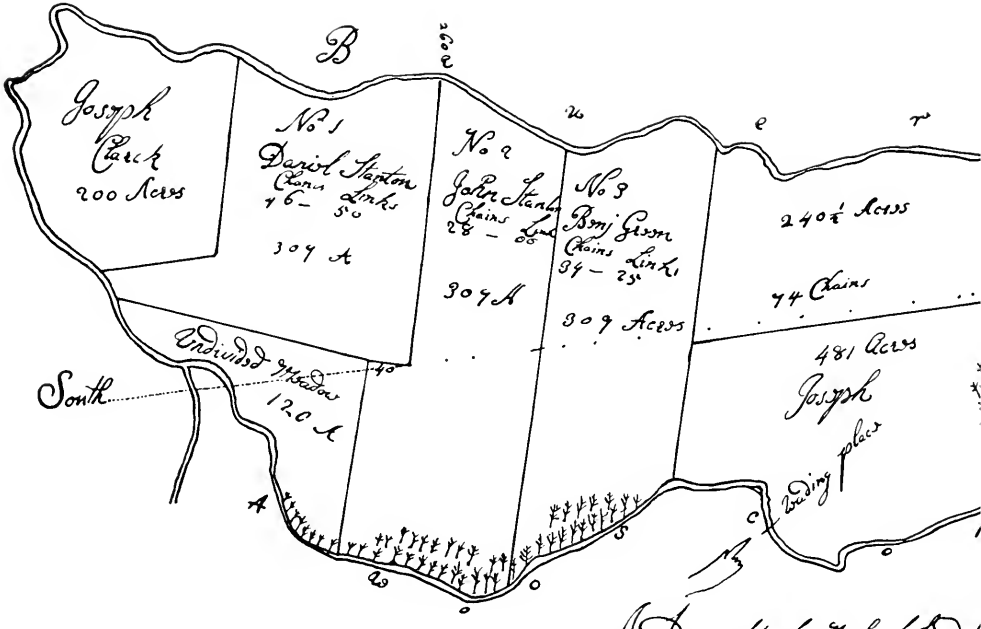
These are to Certifie . . . that wee underwritten Aron Beale Commander of the Ship the William of Boston in New England Burthen 100 tunns or thare Abouts Richard Jeames Mate And Zachariah Hill Boatswains of Sd Ship doe heareby Declare that being on our present voyage from the Island of Jemeco[11] in the Sd Ship William bound to the port of boston Afore Sd & being in the Lattitude of 18 degrees or thare Abouts wee Sprung A leake which Continued tollerable untill Arriving in the Latitude of 38 or 39 Degrees our Sd Leake so Increased by Reason of Stress of weather that at Length it proved in Supportable & perrilous & tharefore for preservation of Lives Ship and goods wee ware constrained to put into this port of Newport on the Eight Instant to the truth whare of wee have heare unto Sett or hands this ninth day of August 1696

Aron Beale
Richard Jeames
Zachariah Hill

Sollomly Deposed before the Honerd Govr of Rhoad Island[12] Walter Clarke (II, 55)

[11] Jamaica.

[12] Danll Vernon and John Mumford signed as witnesses. The witnesses were not on the voyage, but were residents of Newport.

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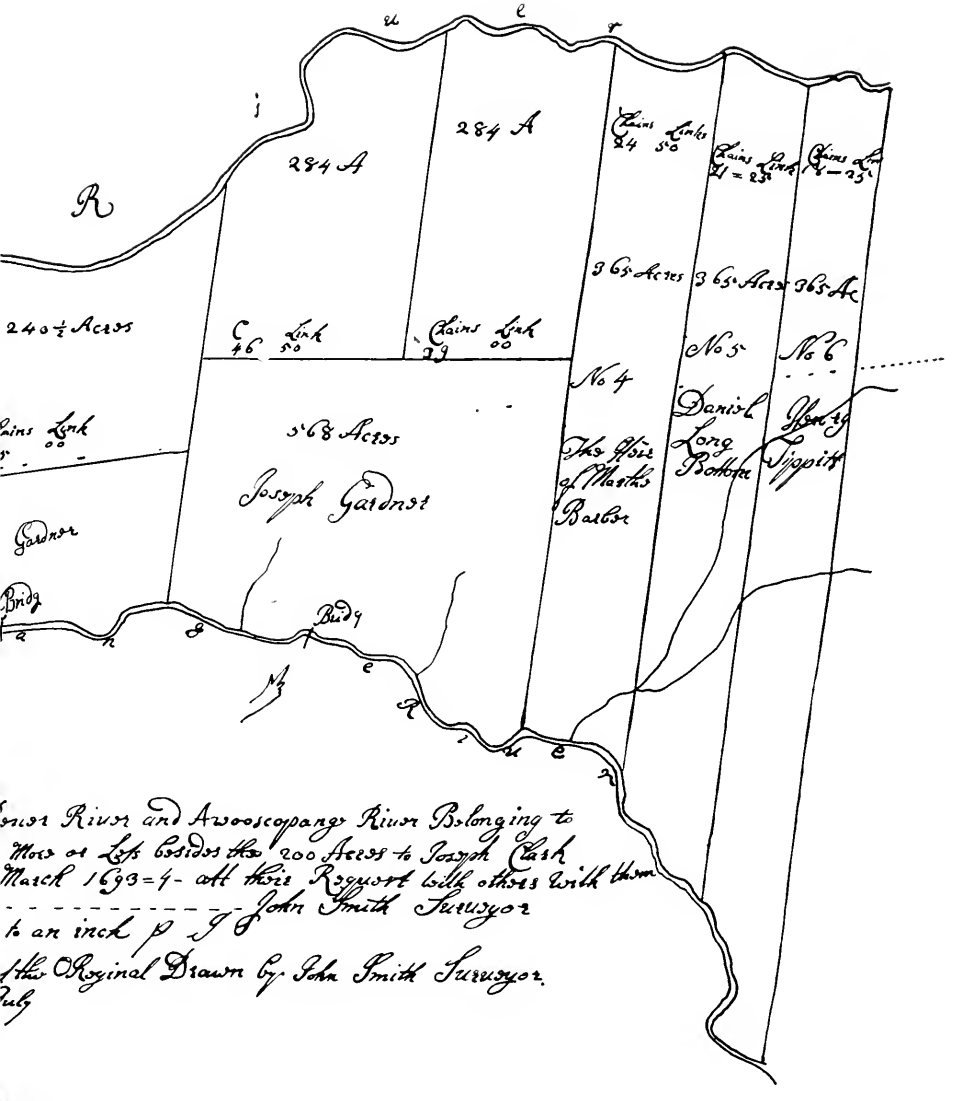
*(Reduced*

A SCALE BEARING THE NAME [?S.....] EAS

ON THE PLAT JUST BELO

*Pr*




URCHASE
*ne-half)*
VEYOR, AND THE DATE 1735 IS PASTED
AST LINE OF WRITING
*o the Society by Miss M. Lizzie Kenyon*

# Notes

An illustrated article on Old Newport Houses by William K. Covell appeared in *Old Time New England* for April 1935.

The *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design* for April 1935 contains an illustrated article on Samuel Vernon, Newport silversmith, by Dorothy N. Casey.

The Harris Smith Records, a series of almanacs annotated with vital records, has recently been presented to the Society by Albert B. Coulters. These records, largely relating to Washington and Kent Counties, have been arranged alphabetically and typewritten for the convenience of genealogists.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Miss Susan S. Brayton Mr. Tracy W. McGregor

# The Old Hoyle Tavern

*By* HORACE G. BELCHER

*(Continued from April issue)*

It was a gala day for the opening of the old tavern under its new owner. William Greene of Warwick was then Governor; Jabez Bowen of Providence was Lieutenant Governor; Henry Ward of Newport, Secretary of State; William Channing of Newport, Attorney General; Joseph Clarke of Newport was General Treasurer. The Census of 1782 had shown a population of 4,306 persons for Providence, including 1913 white males, 943 of them under the age of 16; 2102 white females, 903 under 16 years; 6 Indians, 22 mulattoes, 252 blacks.

Col. Joseph Hoyle is described in the deed as "yoeman" the common term for one not a man of property and conclusive proof that he was not then an innkeeper. He came to the tavern with the tradition of two generations of innkeepers behind him—his grandfather, Dr. John Hoyle and his father, James who in Dr. Hoyle's will had been directed to "assist his mother in her business, her paying him for it," after the death of Dr. Hoyle. He must have been a man of unusual parts, to have left such an indelible impress of his personality and popularity on the tavern in the 13 years he remained its landlord, that succeeding landlords retained his name on its sign to the end, nearly a century later. They might and many of them did, put their own name on the sign, but always it was subordinated to the old name, the Hoyle Tavern or later, the Hoyle Hotel.

Col. Joseph Hoyle, son of James and grandson of John, was born in Providence in 1741. He married Sarah Field of Providence, October 26, 1774, the minister being Rev. Joseph Snow of the Beneficent Congregational Church, the

old "Round Top." He had been landlord of the Hoyle Tavern more than a year when on July 8, 1784, he married Patience Rogers, then the widow Manchester, the ceremony being performed in North Providence by Hope Angell, justice of the peace.

This marriage was recorded 15 years later in 1799 after Col. Hoyle had given up the tavern. The marriage record as made by George Tillinghast, Town Clerk, included a list of the children of that marriage, with dates of birth of each one. The time and manner of the record makes it appear a measure to establish legal rights of the wife and children in his estate. Hoyle retired at 56 and was 59 when he died.

Col. Hoyle made the Hoyle Tavern the leading one on the west side of the town where taverns were numerous, especially on the road which now is Westminster Street, and one of the best known and most popular houses in the colony. He retired in February, 1796, after 13 years as its host, and was succeeded by Jeremiah Fenner.

Hoyle died insolvent, four years later, in 1800. His widow sold her rights and dower in the property May 22, 1801, to Mary Arnold, daughter of Welcome Arnold, who later married Tristam Burgess, a well known lawyer of Providence and Representative in Congress from 1825 to 1835. The property remained in the Burgess family until the Citizens Savings Bank bought it for $75,000, June 30, 1919.

Jeremiah Fenner rented the inn from Joseph Hoyle, in February, 1796 and left in the latter part of 1797. There is no record of any other innholder here for the next six years until Col. Cyrus Spaulding took it over in April, 1803 from the new owners. He had previously kept a tavern at the head of Long Wharf, at the foot of the present Dorrance Street.

Col. Spaulding stayed but a year at the Hoyle, removing in 1804 to the house of Joseph Sabin at the sign of the

Golden Ball, two doors West of the Great Bridge. The Golden Ball seems to have been a popular name for Providence taverns, for there have been three here, as well as others just outside the town.

From 1804 to 1807 the Hoyle was run by Joseph Angell. He left in 1807 and the tavern was again advertised for rent. It stood empty five years this time, for it was not until 1812 during our second war with Great Britain, that Joseph Witter became its landlord. He stayed six years, leaving in 1818 to open a house over the corner of Weybosset and High Streets.

The Hoyle Tavern was advertised a number of times between 1816 and 1820, even during Witter's tenancy, until Caleb Allen became its landlord in 1820. He stayed a year and was followed in 1821 by Preston H. Hodges, a well known innkeeper who kept it until 1827, when he left to carry on the Franklin House on Market Square, 1827 to 1832, with his son. Seth Baker succeeded him at the Hoyle in 1828 and kept it for three years, removing April 15, 1831, to a tavern on the opposite side of High Street.

After that, landlords changed often. John Burton kept there from 1831 to 1834; William Capron 1834 and perhaps 1835; Owen Burlingame, who came from Scituate, 1835 to 1837. Burlingame's license was dated April 6, 1835.

Somewhere about this time a third story was added to the tavern, which originally was of two stories. Much later in the century an ell was built on, with a barroom on the lower floor. This addition, made about the Centennial year, 1876, increased its capacity to 45 rooms, 12 of them being in the ell. This new ell was in odd contrast to the old house, for the lines of the original structure were wavy and anything but straight, while the newer part was angular and square with modern windows and doors.

From the front the structure appeared but two stories high to the casual glance, for a long porch with six white pillars extended along the front of the second story,

reached from the open square in front by two broad flights of steps at each end and in the centre. A short distance in front of this was a long hitching rail for horses. In later years a large horse watering trough was located in front. A circular stone trough still stands there.

"The main stairway is quite as queer in its formation as the building itself," says an old description of the Hoyle as it was in 1888.[29] "The balustrade, or banisters as it was then, is of the slight, ugly style, the stairs narrow and of low tread and great care has to be exercised in going up alone, for fear of hitting one's head on some of the supposed artistic projections or ornaments.

"As one looked at it, the question naturally comes up as to how many thousands have climbed those stairs, how many joyous supper parties have passed up and down, how many honest farmers have rested there after a day of busy barter and trade in the city and how many who, in the barroom below have drank not wisely but too well, have been aided up the steep way by the attendants of the house.

"Looking from the front of the stairway toward the rear of the building, the main hall or corridor is an odd-looking passage with innumerable jogs and projections, each room that opens on it having a corner sticking out, handy to fall against in the night and equally hazardous for anyone to pilot by in the daytime, unless in full control of his powers.

"Apparently this floor was not planned at all, but the rooms were simply thrown at the building and stuck.

"Ascending the main stairway, a narrow corridor runs back to the annex and looking down it, the utter impossibility of taking a big trunk through it at once apparent, while even a bridal couple, closely as they walk together, would have to proceed in single file.

"Leading from this to the floor above, is a curiously built winding stairway that would make an excellent study for an artist. It is even worse to climb than the lower stairway, being only half as wide and twice as steep.

[29] Providence *Sunday Journal*, January 29, 1888.

"The windows in the room and halls are antique in the extreme, the panes of glass being small and more or less dirty, while they are set in heavy wood and look from the outside almost like windows in a prison. Many of them are the ones originally put in, but some are of modern size and style and look much out of place among their ancient fellows."

The procession of innkeepers continued, with frequent changes. The old tavern had much competition and its days of long tenancy ended with the death of Martha Brown, in 1778. John A. Foster took it over in 1838 and left it three years later, in 1841, to open a grocery store.

About this time the old Hoyle began to be known as the Hoyle Hotel instead of as the Hoyle Tavern. Christopher Johnson, who had managed the Angell House, the Franklin House and later the Washington Hotel, and perhaps the old Baker Tavern on High Street, was its landlord from 1841 to 1843.

It was on the last day of December, 1843, that Amasa Sprague, of the great cotton manufacturing family whose failure three decades later was a world event in that industry, was murdered—a crime which brought about the abolishment of capital punishment in Rhode Island.

"One of the legends of the Hoyle," says the old account previously quoted,[30] "is that Nick Gordon, instigator of the murder of Amasa Sprague the elder, came to the tavern on the night of the murder and bought drinks for the crowd several times, and kept talking about what time it was and how long he had been there, thus laying a foundation for an alibi in case he was suspected of the murder."

Charles Richards had the place from 1844 to 1847, followed by Lynson Barney, 1847 to 1848. Barney came to the Hoyle from the High Street Hotel, which he kept from 1844 to 1846. Later he removed to Newport and became proprietor of the United States Hotel. Samuel B.

[30] *Ibid.*

Parker followed, 1848 to 1852; John Colwell, 1853 to 1855 or '56; and then came Sidney S. Paul, one of the most colorful personalities ever connected with a Rhode Island hotel.

Sidney Paul prided himself on good ale and always had half a dozen barrels on tap at the Hoyle. He used to say he could feed 100 persons, day or night, on good roast beef and other things, and on occasion he maintained this reputation. He also kept the Roger Williams Hotel, which stood next to the Providence Washington building where North Main Street runs into Market Square, and subsequently kept the Earle House at the corner of North Main and Steeple Streets.

After leaving the Hoyle in 1859, he opened a road house on the Apponaug road just East of the present Warwick Avenue in what now is Lakewood, which for many years after he passed on, was still called the Sidney Paul place.

John Boyden, who bought him out at the Hoyle in 1859, later opened the first shore resort on the East side of the Providence River, about where the Wilkesbarre coal pier was later located. His name was given to Boyden Heights, a well known clam dinner resort in East Providence near Riverside. Boyden died in 1864 and his widow, Jane Boyden, carried on at the Hoyle until 1867—the second woman to take charge of the old hostelry.

The line of landlords continued with Jenckes Harris, 1868-1869; he was followed by Orren Harris (Agent), 1870. Harris was noted for his hot whiskey punches. Then came Amos Wells, 1871 to 1874; Benjamin S. Wilbur, 1875-1876; Orrin Harris again, 1877-1878; Thomas Ladd, 1879-1882; Thomas Hartshorn, 1883. The line of landlords ended with William W. Cameron, 1884-1887. Cameron, whose name is on the sign shown in the last photograph of the tavern doing business, removed from the city in 1887. The Providence Directory does not list any proprietor after 1886, the year Providence celebrated the 250th anniversary of the founding of the city.

The old house had 29 landlords between 1739-40 and 1886. Of these 29 innholders, two were women, their tenancy being 111 years apart. One of these women, Martha Brown, widow of the founder of the tavern, had the longest tenancy of any—a full quarter-century.

The old house had successively been a stage coach and farmer's inn; a popular house to which the young bloods of the town resorted; a farmer's hotel; and a neighborhood barroom. Always it retained its popularity with horsemen and back country farmers. It fell in repute in its later days and it ended as a lodging house for families, with rooms let to lodgers who took their meals elsewhere.

Some of the best known hotel keepers of the town and city had it for longer or shorter periods, with varying fortunes. One of its proprietors hanged himself in the little entry leading from his private sitting room to his bedroom. Always it remained the Hoyle—a landmark, the best known place on the East side of Providence.

For many years a pair of large scales stood in front of the Hoyle, where hay and other bulky commodities were weighed. These scales were provided with big weights which Ben Olney, the noted weight master, threw around as if they were specially made for him. He would announce the weight with as much care as if weighing diamonds.

"But to see Ben in his glory, was to see him when a big load of wood was to be measured," says an old account.[31] "Then, indeed, he owned the place. All measuring was done with a yard stick and the care that Ben took with a fraction of an inch, was a wonder to the small boys and a delight to his friends.

"For many years the farmers used to tie up in front and around the Hoyle and barter their produce for what they needed and this made the junction a most lively place. Inside the hotel, faro bank was often dealt and it was an easy matter to start a poker game at any time.

"One day a farmer drove up with a load of cherries and

[31] *Ibid.*

left them guarded by a savage looking dog. Alf Barton, one of the characters of old Christian Hill, was there and remonstrated with the farmer for leaving them with only the dog to guard them—but the farmer allowed the dog was enough and said anyone who could drive him away could have the cherries.

"That was enough for Alf and before the farmer had gone any distance, by the aid of a squirt gun and some hot water, he had routed the dog and divided the cherries among those near by."

For many years a large tree stood on the High Street side of the hotel. In this one of the proprietors built a platform 20 feet above ground, railed off for security and on the platform placed tables and chairs. In summer this made a cool and airy place for service from the bar.

"From its start until within a few years, it was a hostelry, open 24 hours daily. Now it is used as a lodging house for families and rooms are let to boarders who take their meals elsewhere," says an old newspaper description of the place in its last days.[32]

"The famous old kitchen is deserted and silent, no juicy steaks are cooked there, no steaming coffee emerges from its portals and the famous dishes of ham and eggs and wonderful boiled dinners that used to be served there, are no more known.

"With the increase of population and the growth of building on the West Side, the functions ceased and gradually but surely it settled into a relic of the past and 'The Hoyle' sank to the level of an ordinary building, only known by the fact that it stood at the junction of High and Cranston Streets.

"Probably no tavern of olden times or hotel of later years has so many stories connected with it. The Hoyle was once the leading road house of the town. East Side bloods used to drive out to it, for there were few buildings

[32] *Ibid.*

THE HOYLE TAVERN ABOUT 1887
Part of the tavern's stable can be seen at the left.
*From photograph owned by Horace G. Belcher*

on the hill and it was considered quite a distance from the centre of the city. There was no bridge across the now Providence River and to reach the Hoyle required quite a drive out toward Pawtucket."

This newspaper account lists some of the proprietors of the old Hoyle, including several whose names do not appear in the list of annual license holders. Among them was Walt Proctor, of whom the reporter said: "Walt Proctor is best known to this generation, for he and his heirs have owned it for 16 or 18 years and still hold it. His noted motto of 'Live and Let Live' is known everywhere. He died at the Hoyle."

There is no record of any license issued for the Hoyle in the name of Walter Russell Proctor, although he died there September 29, 1883, his home being then at 42 Willow Street. He certainly had the leasehold of the place at the time of his death, for an account in the Providence *Journal* October 1, 1883—a few days after his death—of a row at the Hoyle, said the property was in control of Walter Proctor. He probably held license through a dummy or his bartender, as was often done where a license could not be obtained direct.

The old tavern building, with its additions, its barn and other buildings erected on the original land, stood until 1890 when it was sold at auction June 18. The Hoyle Tavern itself brought $16, a condition of sale being its removal within 30 days. The addition to the older structure sold for $98 and seven other buildings including barns, on the property brought the total up to $1156. The big stable was on the Cranston Street side, in the rear of the main building, which faced the point of the junction.

The old tavern was replaced by a store and office building of two stories on the Westminster and Cranston Street sides, with a front section facing the square, of three stories. This structure was vacated March 1, 1920 following purchase of the property by the Citizens Savings Bank and was removed to make way for the present home

of the bank, opened July 1, 1921, just six months more than half a century after the bank was established as a Christian Hill institution.

The estate had remained in possession of the Burgess family and descendants from 1801 until 1893 when it was conveyed to the Burges Land Company, Casimir DeR. Moore, President; Alfred H. Cumbers, Treasurer by Casimir DeR. Moore and Harriet F. Moore, his wife, both of New York City; Charles E. Souther and Mary Burges Souther, his wife, both of Orange, New Jersey, the date being February 18. It was described as numbers 5-43 Cranston and 878-900 Westminster Street.

The Citizens Savings Bank bought from the Burges Land Company, June 30, 1919, paying $75,000 for the property which when sold at auction June 5, 1889 by George H. Burnham, Commissioner in the case of Casimir DeR. Moore of New York vs. Andrew S. Thorp for partition of estate, had been passed for a bid of $41,100 for "all that certain lot of land with the buildings thereon and appurtenances thereto, situated at the junction of High and Cranston Streets . . . known as the Hoyle Tavern estate . . . about 28,137 square feet of land."

## JOSEPH HOYLE'S MARRIAGES

Joseph Hoyle was 33 when he married Sarah Field, daughter of Joseph Field, October 26, 1774, in Providence. The marriage was performed by Rev. Joseph Snow, who recorded it in the ledger account he kept of the many marriages he performed as minister of the Beneficent Congregational Church.

The record, as transcribed in Book 5, page 482, of the Record of Marriage and Births, office of the City Registrar, Providence, reads: "Joseph Hoyle of Providence, son of James, Sarah Field of Providence, daughter of Joseph, October 26, 1774."

There is no record of the death of Sarah Hoyle, but on page 128, Book 2, of Record of Marriages and Births in the City Registrar's office, Providence, is a photostatic copy of the page in the original record book, with the entry of his second marriage.

The date was July 8, 1784, but the record was not made until March 30, 1799, when it was entered with a list of the children born to the couple from that marriage. The bride was Patience Rogers, then the widow Manchester. The record reads:

"I hereby certify that Mr. Joseph Hoyle, son of Mr. James Hoyle, deceased, and Miss Patience Manchester, widow of——(line drawn here in original record) Manchester, deceased, were lawfully joined together in Marriage in North Providence the eighth day of July, anno Domine 1784. By me, the subscriber, Hope Angell, Justice of Peace. Witness George Tillinghast, Town Clerk. March 30, 1799.

"Their children, born in Providence, are as follows, to wit:

Elizabeth Stuart Hoyle, Born August 15,1785
Joseph Hoyle, Jr., Born December 7, 1786
James Rogers Hoyle, Born February 27, 1788
Henry Ward Hoyle, Born February 5, 1790
Susannah Hoyle, Born November 20, 1791
John Singer Dexter Hoyle, Born April 3, 1798"

While the record of the marriage gives the name of the bride as Patience Manchester, widow of——Manchester, deceased, the index to this volume in the same handwriting as the entries in the volume, reads:

"Hoyle, Joseph and Patience Rogers, their Marriage and children's Births 128."

Evidently the Town Clerk had known the bride before her first marriage. Joseph Hoyle at the time of this marriage was 43 years old. He was 58 when his last child was born two years after he retired from the Hoyle Tavern and two years before he died insolvent.

## JOHN HOYLE'S WILL

John Hoyle's death was recorded in the Register of King's Church, now St. John's Church, North Main Street, in Providence. The record, transcribed in Book 5, page 164 of the Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, City Registrar's office, Providence, reads: "John Hoyle buried February 11, 1766."

In his will, "John Hoyle of Cranston in the County of Providence" left all lands and buildings in Cranston to his wife, Hannah.

His son, James Hoyle, father of Joseph, received all lands in Cranston after decease of "his mother in law, Hannah Hoyle, deceased." The will continues with the injunction that James "is to assist his mother in her business, her paying him for it."

The "toomb yard at the North corner of my land fenced in with a prim hedge" is excepted, the document continuing "and my will is that the aforesaid burying place shall be keepst for a borying place for my three children namely, John Hoyle, James Hoyle, Elisabeth Mounting formerly Elisabeth Short all to have the privilege and liberty to bury their dead if need require and my son Richard's children the same privilege and so to their posterity hereafter."

He left 15 pounds to "the town of Cranston treasury" to maintain the graveyard.

To his son John was left "the East end of my house in Providence where he now lives, that is to say wright up and down from the yard to the top of the chimne between the two ends of said house and the land under the said end of said house."

The West end of the house was left to his grandson Richard Hoyle, with "1-2 the barn."

His silver mounted "sword and cain" was left to his son James "and my string of gold beeds and locket to my

daughter Elisabeth and all my wearing apparel to be divided between my two sons John and James Hoyle."

Following the disposal of his clothing came this clause:

"And further my will is that children should be loving each other and to their mother and she the same to them and I would pray that they would think that their poor Mother and Father had no Body to give any thing to them and that I have labored hard to get a few pence for them and hope God will bless them with the same."

The inventory, showing 2887 pounds 10 shillings old tenor, was made by Richard Waterman, Thomas Westcott, Alexander Frazier.

In Book W-5, Page 411, Providence Probate Records.

The inscriptions on the Hoyle gravestones were printed in *The Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, vol. XXV, p. 112 and an illustration of the coat of arms in vol. XXI, p. 73.

## Form of Legacy

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of ..... dollars."*

Roger Williams Press E. A. Johnson Co.

Providence

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVIII OCTOBER, 1935 No. 4

OCT - 3 1935

THE SEAL OF PORTSMOUTH, R. I. OF 1807.

(*recently discovered*)

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXVIII OCTOBER, 1935 No. 4

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# Narragansett Bay and Dee River, 1583

*By* FULMER MOOD

In a recent publication the statement has been made that Sir Humphrey Gilbert's projected colony of Norumbega was to be established on the shores of Narragansett bay. An official document of 1583 is produced, evidencing, it is asserted, that the Elizabethan designation for Narragansett bay was "Dee river." According to the same source, there is to be found along the coast to the westward of Dee river "the ryver of Norumbeage."[1] To test these geographical assertions is the aim of this note.

The technical adviser on whom Gilbert was at this time leaning heavily was John Dee, a Welsh polymath the profundity of whose learning easily merits that doctorate which

[1]William B. Goodwin, "The Dee River of 1583 (Now called Narragansett Bay) and Its Relation to Norumbega," in RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS (Providence, 1934), XXVII (No. 2), pp. 38-50.

hasty writers too frequently bestow upon one whom contemporaries greeted as "Master."[2]

The document of 1583 already mentioned—it is a deed from Gilbert to Sir George Peckham—informs us that the port is called Dee river by Dee himself. That is to say, he was responsible for so naming it. Reading further in the document, we learn more of this river or harbor to which it had pleased the scholar to affix his name: "Dee Ryver which Ryver by the discripcion of John Verarzanus a Florentyne lyeth in Septontrionall latitude about fortye twoo degrees and has his mouth lyinge open to the South halfe a league brode or there aboute and enteringe Within the saide Baye betweene the Easte and the Northe encreaseth his breadith and contynueth twelve leagues or there abouts and then maketh a gulfe of twentie leagues compasse or thereabouts and conteyneth in it selfe five small Islandes newlie named the Cinque Isles."[3]

This description is sufficiently detailed to give rise to a natural inference in the mind of modern students that Gilbert, when he made the grant, and when he so described a portion of the territory he was conveying, based his action upon a map then in his possession. Certainly one can hardly escape the feeling that Gilbert had ready at hand some aid from which he took the particulars concerning the five isles and the run of the shore line, all the descriptions of which he incorporated into his legal instrument. It is a natural inference, to repeat, that the hypothetical source for this is a map. But no time need be lost searching for cartographical evidence bearing on the point, because there is waiting to be brought into the discussion a document which without question is Gilbert's source.

Speaking of an American region on the coast in about

[2]The role of John Dee, a neglected factor in the history of English expansion in late Tudor times, has lately been clarified by E. G. R. Taylor in *Tudor Geography*, 1485-1583 (London, 1930). Prof. Taylor devotes three chapters to Dee's work.

[3]Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

41° 30′ north latitude a chronicler writes: "[This country] lyeth East and West, I say that the mouth of the hauen lyeth open to the South halfe a league broade, and being entred within it between the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues: where it waxeth broder and broder, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are fiue small Islandes very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Ilandes, any great Nauie may ryde safe without any feare of tempest or other daunger."[4] These words were written by the author of Verrazano's narrative (who may have been Verrazano himself) and they were in print in English as early as the summer of 1582. The younger Hakluyt had translated Verrazano's narrative and published it in his little book, *Divers Voyages*, a work which was in large part designed as a handbook for the Gilbert venture in colonization. To apply the method of textual comparisons is to certify that the excerpt just given is the source of the description incorporated in the grant to Peckham.

The recognition of this circumstance alters the approach to the solution of the problem concerning the location of Dee's river. If Gilbert had Verrazano's account in his hand, and incorporated that navigator's description of a bay on the Atlantic coast, then the identification of that bay depends upon a scrutiny of Verrazano's narrative. But the identification must be made in accord with certain facts supplied by the grant to Peckham. The most pertinent of these is the information that the river of Norumbega lies to the westward of the Dee river or port.

It is true that Verrazano's narrative describes a large river which lies to the west of his harbor already mentioned. But this river of Verrazano's—in which it is easy to see the

[4] R. Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages* (London, 1582), sig. $B_4$ verso—sig. $B_5$ recto. The general term by which Hakluyt describes this part of the coast is "Morum bega." He writes it as two words. He informs the reader, in a marginal note at the top of sig. $B_1$ recto, of "The Country of Sir H. G. voyage." Verrazano's letter is reprinted in Chapin's *Documentary History of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1919), Vol. 2, Chapter I.

Hudson—bears no name. Gilbert obviously did not derive the name of the river of Norumbega from that source. He must have derived this term, too, from some readily available authority. Why not from his technical adviser? Master John Dee at this time had in his possession a map of North America, and prominently displayed on this map in the central sector of the Atlantic coast is the term "Norumbega."[5] The country of Norumbega, as this map plainly shows, is traversed through the middle by a large river which rises far in the interior. This stream can hardly be anything other than the "river of Norumbega." It may with confidence be taken to be the Hudson. Concerning the several openings and indentations on the coast to the eastward of this river's mouth, no statement need be hazarded except that the shore line which it is intended to represent is undoubtedly the littoral of southern New England.

If then the river of Norumbega as shown on Dee's map and the large river visited by Verrazano just before reaching Narragansett bay are to be understood as one and the same river, and if this may be taken as the Hudson, a vital condition for the identification of Dee's river is satisfied. The legal instrument informs us that west of the harbor of Dee is the river of Norumbega. And Narragansett Bay is certainly in a proper relation to the Hudson, by this construction.

As the present writer reads Verrazano's narrative, he is satisfied that the bay with the five isles in it corresponds to Narragansett bay, and that the river of Norumbega which lies to the west of it is the Hudson.

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[5]British Museum, Manuscript Room: Cottonian MS, Aug. I, i, art. 1. There is a description of this map in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Maps, Charts, and Plans . . .* in the British Museum (London, 1844), I, p. 30. The map has been reproduced, with some loss of its original sharpness of definition, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (Glasgow, 1904), VIII, facing p. 486.

# The Stanton Purchase

*By* Susan Stanton Brayton*

On August 22, 1662, the Indian Sachem Wannumachon deeded to Robert Stanton and George Gardiner a tract of land five miles long by one and a half miles wide, between the rivers Westototucket and Ashuniunck, or adjoining the Pettaquamscutt Purchase. These rivers are now called Usquepaug and Beaver Rivers, and the land thus deeded, the Stanton Purchase.

In recording the history of this, as of any piece of land, one may resort to several sources for information—topographical, documentary, and traditional—supplementing them by the recollections of the oldest inhabitant.

The road recently improved, Route R. I. 2, called the South County Trail, affords a convenient means of exploring this bit of back country, hitherto known to few. The trail enters the Purchase where it crosses the Usquepaug River into Richmond over a new concrete bridge. It then traverses the Great Plain in a westerly direction; climbs a low hill; swerves to the south; and, skirting Great Swamp, finally reaches the Pawcatuck River at Kenyon.

The two rivers which bound the Purchase on the east and west flow in a general southerly course. The Usquepaug is a sluggish stream, cutting a meandering channel through bogland, and beyond the bridge is lost in the thick growth of Great Swamp; Beaver River on the west, no longer frequented by the beaver builders which gave it its name, flows more swiftly through leafy woodland and sunny

*Authorities have been named except for statements about the Boss Meeting House which were taken from the minutes of the Sunday School Convention.

The author has drawn upon her memory of the locality and the story of its history as related by her mother, also upon Miss Kenyon's reminiscences, and Clarke and Marchant papers.

meadows, luring fishermen by its promise of trout. It drains the valley at the foot of Shannock and School House Hills and, like the Usquepaug, empties into the Pawcatuck. For further exploration one should drive along the old dirt road branching from the trail just beyond the bridge, which leads to the village of Usquepaug; also another old road, forking from the trail and descending the hill into Beaver River valley and the Shannock Purchase beyond.

As to documentary sources, one of great importance has recently come into the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society through the gift of Miss M. Lizzie Kenyon of Richmond. This is an ancient map, or survey of the Stanton Purchase, within the boundaries of which Miss Kenyon has spent her life, upon land acquired by a Peterson ancestor, her great-great-grandfather, over two hundred years ago. By her father's purchase of the Stanton farm adjoining, she is also the owner of land occupied for many generations by descendants of Robert Stanton, one of the original purchasers from the Indian Wannumachon.

The old map, drawn in ink upon thick parchment, yellow with age, measures fifteen by twenty-four inches. It has apparently always been tightly rolled and kept within the iron ring encircling it when it was presented to the Society. It is illustrated in the July 1935 issue of the COLLECTIONS.

A description of the map, written beneath it, reads as follows:

A Draught of a Neck of Land between Bever River and Awooscopauge River Belonging to Jno Stanton & Joseph Gardner Containing 4116 Acres More or Less besides the 200 Acres to Joseph Clark and the Undivided Medow as twas Surveyed In March 1693-4 att their Request with others with them, Concerned,

pre Me John Smith Surveyor
Drawn by A Scale of 80 Rods to an inch p. J. S.
A True Coppey Taken of the OReginal
Drawn by John Smith Surveyor
By Me ye 5th 5mo Calle July

Below this description a paper scale is attached, headed:

S ..... Easton Surveyor 173-.
( Samuel ? 1735-? )

This map, then, drawn in 1735 exhibits the Purchase as surveyed in 1693-4 and shows that its principal owners were, at that time, Daniel Stanton, John Stanton, Benjamin Green, Joseph Gardner, the Heir of Marthe Barber, Daniel Long Bottom and Henry Tippits (?). There were also four unassigned lots north of Benjamin Green's portion.

The Undivided Meadow and Joseph Clarke's 200 Acres lay at the extreme south-east and south, the entire Purchase having the Pawcatuck River as its southern boundary.

Joseph Clarke was the son of Joseph Clarke and the nephew of Dr. John Clarke, brothers who emigrated from England and settled in Aquidneck in 1638. They were mentioned in the Charter of 1663 which, indeed, Dr. John Clarke was largely instrumental in securing from His Majesty, Charles II. The second Joseph Clarke, owner of the 200 Acres, was the first town clerk of Westerly and held this position from 1669 to 1700.

A curious old book is extant in which Joseph Clarke entered the town records, attested by Joseph Pendleton, town clerk, on April 28, 1702, as a "Vera Coppia" of the records in the "old towne book."

As the town records filled only a portion of the thick, parchment-covered folio, Joseph Clarke and his descendants thriftily used the remaining pages for bookkeeping and other purposes. Thus it became a chronicle not only of the town meetings of old "Westerle" but also of the transactions of the Clarke family. In this book we find, "April 9, 1694, Voated—That whereas Joseph Clark Sen. had 2 hundered accers of land granted by the towne and it fell within the purchase of Robert Stanton and sd Clark petioned the towne that he might have his lot grante still according to lot: it is granted."

Joseph Clarke did not apparently find this sufficient to establish his right to the land in question, for on June 21,

1694, he secured by the payment of "ten pounds current money of New England" a deed to the 200 acres. This deed, still in existence, exhibits the stilted legal phraseology of the period. It states in part: "Wee the said John Stanton & Joseph Gardiner—Doe give grant Bargaine Sell Alien Enfeoff and Confirme unto the Said Joseph Clarke his heirs and assigns forever the Southwestward part of a Neck of land Scittuate lying in the Narragansett Cuntry between a River Cald Awooscopaug River and a River Cald Bever River the which said South west part of Said Neck Contains two hundred Acres More or Less as is now laid out And Diliniated on the Drauft of Said Neck And bounded Southwardly on the great River Comonly Caled pawcatuck River, Westwardly on said Bever River Northerly And Esterly on Lands belonging to Said John Stanton & being part of Said Neck,; the which Said Neck of land Was formerly purchased of Wanamachin Sachim & owner thearof by Robert Stanton father of Said John Stanton And George Gardiner father of Said Joseph Gardiner."

This deed was signed and witnessed in the presence of Benedict Arnold, and recorded June 24, 1694, in the "towne book" by Joseph Clarke.

On January 4, 1717, Joseph Clarke executed a deed reading, "To my son Samuel Clarke 200 acres in Westerly bounded by the Pawcatuck, and west by Beaver River, north and east by land formerly of John Stanton and Joseph Gardiner, which tract has been improved upwards of 21 years by my son Samuel, he being in actual possession of same for term aforesaid"

Samuel Clarke was made justice of the peace. A leaf attached by pins to Joseph Clarke's book contains the records of ten marriages performed by him between November 1724 and October 1729. He is thought to have built the house now standing on the estate of Mrs. Fred W. Marvel at the foot of School House Hill, near Beaver River.

The family genealogy of this branch of the Clarke family is as follows:

Joseph Clarke 1642-3 — 1726-7
|
Samuel Clarke 1672 — 1769
|
Joseph Clarke 1705 — 1783
|
Samuel Clarke Died 1792 Joshua Clarke 1733 — 1818
|
Samuel Clarke 1771 — 1851

Mrs. Marvel is the great-granddaughter of the last named Samuel Clarke. He inherited the estate of his uncle, Samuel Clarke, who died childless, and finally possessed over 500 acres of land, the greater part lying within the Stanton Purchase. For many years a justice of the peace, he was generally known as Squire Clarke.

The original 200 acres of Joseph Clarke finally passed into the hands of strangers. In 1773 on September 14, Christopher Champlin "purchased of Joseph Clarke of Richmond One Hundred and fifty acres of Land being a part of said Clarke's Homestead Farm lying in said Richmond" and signed an agreement stating that the said Joseph Clarke and his family should "forever have liberty to Bury their Dead on said Farm at the common Burying Place, without any Molestation."

This burial place, which defines the location of the Champlin purchase as within the 200 acres, may be seen as one approaches the village of Kenyon from the north, on the right hand side of the South County Trail.

In an unfenced field, under a large oak are several graves in the neglected grass, indicated by rough blocks of field stone. One is marked S. C. It is probably the grave of Samuel Clarke who died in 1769. Two bear inscriptions, which may be deciphered thus:

Joshua Clarke
Died December 27, 1818
85 yr. 7 mos

Dorcas Clarke Died
Sept. 28, 1811
Age 69, 8 mos.

The fact that these two graves were thus marked may be due to a clause in the will of Joshua Clarke, drawn in 1815.

"I order my Excutor to git two tombstones for Me and my wife with our name and age ingraven on them."

The part of the 200 acres bordering upon the Pawcatuck is now the site of Kenyon, which became a prosperous mill village during the nineteenth century through the successful management of Elijah Kenyon. Upon the main street stands a beautiful colonial house, said to have been built by members of the Clarke family in 1735.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Marchant family acquired over 500 acres in the heart of the Stanton Purchase, on what was known as the Great Plain. Henry Marchant, first district judge of Rhode Island, had in 1775 bought a farm of 75½ acres bordering on the Usquepaug River in South Kingstown; a year later, 118 acres across the river in Richmond. His son, Judge William Marchant, inherited this land. In 1803 Joseph Durfee sold to William Marchant for $1,600 land in Richmond purchased by Durfee from Hopson Willcox, bounded easterly by Uskapaug River, southerly and westerly by land of Ichabod Peterson and Robert Stanton, northerly by Peter Boss and William Marchant, a highway running through said farm.

A map drawn of this region previous to the year 1825 shows the holdings of William Marchant, Ichabod Peterson, John Stanton, Perry Watson, Peter Boss, and the Herrington and Hoxie families, west of the river, and the farms of Marchant, Tanner, Clarke, Willcox, and Babcock east of the river, in South Kingstown.

The house then owned by Perry Watson still stands at the top of the hill beyond the home of Miss Kenyon—the old Peterson farm. It later came into the possession of Peter Clarke, son of Peter Clarke of Shannock Hill,

descendant of William Clarke, one of the original settlers of the Shannock Purchase.

Beyond the Perry Watson house to the south stood the Boss Meeting House. The Baptist society owning this place of worship was organized in 1773 by nine men and ten women, who met in private homes for several years. Their communion set consisted of two "puter" platters and two beaker glasses. Elder Boss preached to the little congregation. In 1787, on a lot of land containing half an acre, deeded by Perry Watson and his wife for £1: 10, a modest edifice 36 by 28 feet, without a steeple, was built for $310. In 1809 there were eighty members, the deacons being John Stanton, Wait Clarke, and Gardiner Moore.

The organization, though often without a pastor, prospered, especially under the ministration of the Rev. John H. Baker, son-in-law of Judge Marchant, also one of its staunch supporters. The worshippers usually came to church on horse back, if not on foot. Two services were held, necessitating the bringing of noon day lunches, which were often taken to the Peterson home and there enjoyed, accompanied by neighborhood gossip.

In 1855 a new church was erected in Charlestown near Clarke's Mills, and the old building soon existed only in memory.

A quarter of a century ago the Reverend Warren Dawley, who now owns the Perry Watson house, bought the meeting house lot for $5. In cutting down oak trees which stood upon it, he found iron hitching rings imbedded in the wood. Within the lot are two graves, and just outside, over the wall, another, reputed to be that of a suicide unworthy of burial in holy ground.

Beyond the Meeting House at the fork of the two roads, near Stanton's Corners, stood the community school house, which gave School House Hill its name. It was built by Samuel Clarke in 1812 and was used for school purposes until it was outgrown. In 1844 a new school house was built in District Number 3 across Beaver River, and the

old building was moved to the farm of Samuel Clarke, where it is still standing in a good state of preservation. The Reverend James R. Irish, who was schoolmaster here in 1828-9, mentions among his pupils Abiel and Elijah Kenyon, Perry Clarke, Charles and Simeon P. Clarke—founders of Clarke's Mills—Mary Clarke, daughter of Samuel Clarke, Harriet Stanton, and Daniel Marchant, a colored lad.

Opposite the Meeting House was the Stanton Farm. The dwelling house, reached by a wide and grassy lane bordered by locust trees, lingers in memory as a quiet and pleasant retreat remote from the road, with a charming view of the valley beyond. Fire visited it many years ago, and weeds and bushes now grow over the stones of the fallen chimney and cellar wall.

Near the ruins of the Stanton House is the Stanton burial lot, hidden among forest trees which have crept over once fertile meadows and would have encroached upon this spot had it not been kept open by Miss Kenyon.

In the center of a grassy space are nineteen graves. A marble stone bears the inscription:

John Stanton
Died Jan. 22, 1762
Aged 89
His Father
John Stanton
Died in Newport 1728
Aged 83
His Grandfather
Robert Stanton
Died at Newport 1672
Aged 73
His First Wife
Elizabeth
Died at Newport 1730
Aged 50

His Last Wife
Susannah
Died at Richmond 1807
Aged 92
Erected by B. Stanton, a
Great-Grandson, in 1841

Two slate stones are inscribed

In Memory of
Deacon John Stanton
who died Dec. 31
1842
In his 81 st year

In Memory of
Mary Stanton
Wife of
John Stanton
who died Sept. 18, 1841
in the 75 year of her age.

The remaining stones are not marked.

The Stanton house in the years of its decline was occupied by Giffey Marchant and her son Daniel. Giffey, an ancient dame, turbaned and bent, was an object of wonder and awe among children; but Daniel was beloved by all who knew him, and served faithfully on farms where he was constantly employed as a spare hand. He was a descendant of a freed slave, Abraham, once belonging to Judge Marchant, and a freed slave woman who had belonged to Samuel Clarke. Abraham Marchant lived on an island in Great Swamp, called to this day "Abraham's Island." The ruins of the bridge by which it was reached are still visible. Daniel was brought up in the home of Samuel Clarke and was the playfellow and schoolmate of Samuel Clarke's grandson. For some reason this humble workman is better remembered than men of means and position, and many anecdotes about him are still recollected in the places where he was once known.

In the cemetery on the estate of Mrs. Marvel, where the nineteenth century Clarkes are buried, are several graves, probably of the family slaves. One is marked by a stone on which is crudely cut—G. M. Died Feb. 16, 1884 Ag 91. This stone was lettered by a kindly neighbor in the presence of those who had assembled to honor Giffey Marchant and her son Daniel. He was soon after laid to rest in a nameless grave at her side.

Ancient landmarks are slowly but surely disappearing within the Stanton Purchase. A few old houses, some tumble-down walls and rotting fences, cellar-holes near which the lilacs bloom in May, and the last resting places of those long dead, alone remain to tell us of the passage of time since Wannumachon sold the birthright of his people to white men.

## Ships' Protests, 1697–1700

*(Continued from page 79)*

These are to Certifie . . . that this day appeared before mee david Campanall of Newport in the Collony of Rhoad Island . . . marrinr who together with Peter Raymand of New York & Henry Johnson with Marke Moss all of the City of New yorke Imbarked in the providence[13] Sloope of Rhoad Island David Campanill Above Sd Commander And being bound for this port of Newport & being betwene New haven & this place the Storme Arose And Sea Rune in greatt Stress of weather over us our terpallen being Layd in So much that wee had 14 or 15 Inches of water in the hold to the greatt damage of marchants goods is on borde.
Signed in presence of us

Peter Raymand
Protest noted Nov. 16, 1697. Henry Johnson
Mark X Moss (II, 61)

[13]One of the earliest boats named for the Town of Providence.

Newport in Rhoad Island octobr 6th 1698
. . . wee Daniell Hempson master of the good Sloope the Speedwell of new yorke david Campanall marr & Benj. Cranston passanger waying Anchor the 17th day of Septembr Last bound from the Above Sd port of New Yorke . . . To the porte of Boston . . . Laden with tobacko upon fraight being marchants goods & by gods providence meatting with contrary winds & Stress of waves particulurly on the 26th day of the 7ber: being then in the Sound & Against Bradford[14] with the Riger of the Storme & Seas wee Springe a Leake & ware forsed for the Safty of our Lives & goods to putt into Sd Bradford And Have Ever Sence Continued at the pumpe glas & glasse[15] untill our Arrivall in this port of Newport the 5th of octobr 1698 And may by reason of what is Afore premiced Indge[16] tht thare is damage done to the marchants goods on bord Sd Sloope to the truth heare of wee have taken our Sollom Engagments[17] & Sett to our hands . . .

Daniell Hunson
David Campanall[18]
Benj. Cranston (II, 79)

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[14]Branford, Conn.

[15]"glass and glass" means "watch after watch," that is, continuously.

[16]Injury.

[17]Ebenezer Slocum and Rebecca Clark signed as witnesses.

[18]Was David Campanall a relative of Abraham Campanall, the Newport Jew? See R. I. Col. Rec. III, 243; and Rider's *Book Notes*, vol. XXII, p. 98 et als.

# The Date of Roger Williams' Birth

The date of the birth of Roger Williams is not known. In his writings we find six references to his age.

1. In an undated letter,[1] which from its context must have been written between July and October 1632, he describes himself as "nearer upwards of 30 than 25," by which he appears to mean that he was nearer 30 than 25; that is over 27½, and hence born not later than the early part of 1605.

2. In this letter[2] he also wrote of having been "persecuted even in and out of my father's house these 20 years." This is not a very definite statement, but it might well be assumed that a child would be at least five before he was persecuted for his religious beliefs or his lack of them. This would seem to indicate that Roger Williams was born before 1607.

3. The third reference chronologically in regard to his age was recently discovered by Mr. G. Andrews Moriarty in a hitherto unpublished deposition on file in the Town Clerk's office at Portsmouth, R. I. It states that Roger Williams was about 56 in 1662 which would indicate that he was born about 1606, or in fact any time in 1605, 1606 or 1607, for the word *about* makes the statement vague.

The deposition is as follows:

[Endorsed] Mr Roger Williams his testimony about Hogge Island

Providence the 15th of November 1662. The Testimony of Mr Roger Williams of Providence aged about 56 yeares is as follows: I testifie in the holy presence of God that whereas divers of our Neighbours of Rhode Island treated with the Governor of Plimouth Mr Bradford & the Magis-

[1] Narra. Club. vol. VI, p. 2.
[2] Idem.

trates about a Plantation at Souwams they declared to us in the name of their Colloney in the Governors house in Plimouth that they could not part with souwames for they reserved it for & desighned it of old for themselves but if their Countrey men (aforesayd) would please to purchase Acquednicke now called Rhoade Island with the litle Islands about it they should lay no claime therunto but they should bee glad of their full acomodation & Neighbourhood, and they never in the least made any exception of the litle Island called Hogge Island and therefore or friendes of Portsmouth imediately upon their first plantinge & ever since possessed & enjoyed it.

2. When I being interpreter treated with Miantonomu about acomodatinge of my friendes with Rhode Island hee was exceedinge willinge & free that they should have all possible acomodation within his power which was supreame at that time over Ousamaquin & this whole Bay, and hee often sayd to mee that they should injoy the litle Ilandes about Acquednicke as well as Acquednicke it selfe.

3. At that time (as well as before) Ousamaquin confessed to mee hee was subject to the Narrogansets and was expresly sent to by Miantonomu to further all hee could this Plantation at Acquednicke, and Ousamaquin did often in my hearinge & to my selfe declare his willinge and free consent that Rhode Islandmen should injoy the litle Island called Hogge Island [as] well as Rhoade Island it selfe Taken upon Oath or ingadgement before mee the day and yeare abovesayd John Greene Ge[ll] Asistant.

The above written is entred and Recorded in page (412) in the Town Book belonging to the town of Portsmouth pr me John Anthony Town Clerke.

4. In 1676 he wrote[3] "from my childhood (now above three score years)", which would make his childhood before 1616 and his birth presumably as early as 1606.

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[3]George Fox Digged out of his Burrows. N. C. vol. V, p. (unnumbered) lxiv. In original page a3.

5. In February 1677/8 he called himself "aged about seventie five years,"[4] which would make him born about 1602/3 which being in round numbers might mean any time from 1601 to 1605.

6. In July 1679 he said[5] he was "now neare Foure score years", by which he would probably mean that he was between 70 and 80, and indicates his birth as between 1601 and 1609.

The five *later* statements, although only approximate, are in harmony with the period indicated by the first statement.

From his own statements, then, it would appear that he was born not later than the early part of 1605. On the other hand Roger Williams was elected a scholar of the Charter-House school 25 June 1621 and as, according to the regulations, boys over 14 were not admitted, it would seem to follow that Roger Williams was born not earlier than the latter part of 1606 in which case he might still be considered as "fourteen" until he reached his fifteenth birthday anniversary.

Straus,[6] taking the Charter-House evidence as a basis, argues that Williams must have been under 14 in June 1621 and so born in 1607. He interprets "nearer upwards of 30 then 25" as "another way of saying he was over 25 and under 30, or nearer to 30 than 25 is to 30 which would agree with his date of birth in 1607; that is to say, he was between 25 and 26 years of age."

This Charter-House evidence, which places his birth as not earlier than June 1606, and his own statement which makes him born not later than July 1605 seem irreconcilable.

It does not seem likely that Williams could have made a mistake in his age in 1632, while it is very possible that

[4]R. I. H. S. Pub. VIII, p. 156.

[5]R. I. Col. Rec. III, 57; R. I. H. S. Coll. III, 166.

[6]Roger Williams by Oscar S. Straus p. 11.

through the influence of Coke, the age rule of the Charter-House was extended or even waived in Williams' case.

Mr. H. S. Wright, Secretary of the Charter-House writing 9 Jan. 1916 states that the Governors' order of 28 June 1619 was that no scholar "be admitted or received but that he shalbe between tenn and fourteene yeares of age," but Mr. Wright adds that exceptions were sometimes made.

The Benoni Waterman family bible[7] contains an item written by Benoni Waterman many years after Roger Williams' death which states that "Roger Williams was born in Wales in 1599". This item is recorded too late to be considered as pertinent to this discussion, but it seems to be the first record in writing of a family tradition, which though probably inaccurate, has been often quoted.

[7]In library of Rhode Island Historical Society.

## New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

"*The Gilbert Stuart Birthplace.* A brief History of the Birthplace, its Purchase and Restoration, the forming of the Corporation and Future Projects," by Caroline Hazard, has been published as an illustrated pamphlet of 21 pages.

*The New England Quarterly* for June 1935 contains an article on "The Library of an Eighteenth Century Gentleman of Rhode Island" (Henry Marchant), by Susan Stanton Brayton.

A History of the Blackstone Canal by Zelotes W. Coombs appears in the April 1935 issue of *The Worcester Historical Society Publications.*

The Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society for January 1935 contains an article on the Touro Family of Newport by Morris A. Gutstein.

*Irish Builders of Colonial Rhode Island* is the title of a pamphlet of 12 pages by Richard J. Purcell.

*The American Genealogist* for July 1935 contains an article on the early generations of the Lake family in Rhode Island by G. Andrews Moriarty.

## Notes

Mr. Denison W. Greene has been elected to membership in the Society.

## Chief Big Thunder:

### A Problematic Figure in Rhode Island Annals

*By* Edmund B. Delabarre

The astounding career of P. T. Barnum was a striking illustration of people's delight in harmless humbug. Most of us like the seeming magic of sleight-of-hand performances, especially if, after enjoying the creepy thrill of them, we can discover later just how the illusion was produced. It is something of that type which is to engage our present attention. A romantic-sounding character made brief contact with Rhode Island history some seventy-five years ago. He was described in a manner that left a glamour of marvel and mystery about him. For the sake of their dramatic appeal, his picturesque pretensions almost ought to have been true. Carefully conducted impartial investigation does not seem to permit us to believe in them. It will be a diverting task to follow the example of a book by

David P. Abbott called *Behind the Scenes with Mediums*, and set forth first the first-hand tricky appearances, and then the facts which lie behind them.

General Guy M. Fessenden, and later Miss Virginia Baker, introduced us many years ago to the remarkable Indian personality about whom we are inquiring. Their tale left us with an impression of his wonderful possessions, discoveries and abilities. During the course of my own researches about the possible origin of the rock-inscription near Mount Hope, some years ago, I considered him for a short time as a doubtful candidate for the honor of having made the carving. Soon after, I decided positively against this possibility. But even if he could have had nothing to do with this particular mystery, as became clearly evident, still he remained an inviting problem in himself. Accordingly, I made exhaustive inquiries about him, and was fortunate enough to secure much reliable information from many sources.*

The larger knowledge thus gained, I feel, ought not to be lost through being left unrecorded. So I have thought it well to assemble my notes about this unusual case, and to introduce Francis Loring, Chief Big Thunder, anew to a Rhode Island audience. I shall let Miss Baker first tell about him and his exploits, and then try to see what truth lies in the story. Although we shall find our hero, as some of my correspondents express it, "an untruthful and untrustworthy old rascal," yet his big pretensions make at least an appealing fairy-tale which is worth relating. The whole story as it existed prior to my own inquiries was given in 1904 by Miss Baker, as follows:

"After the close of Philip's war, the remnant of the Wampanoags fled to Maine, and ultimately became merged

*My gratitude is due especially to Miss Baker, Mrs. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm of Brewer, Maine, and Dr. Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania. All of them were exceedingly patient and helpful in answering the many queries which I addressed to them. Quotations from them which follow herein are from correspondence conducted in 1920.

in the Penobscot tribe. Up to half a century ago, parties of Penobscot Indians were in the habit of making periodical visits to Warren, camping for several days in various parts of the town. . . . The following article, contributed by Gen. Guy M. Fessenden, appeared in the *Warren Telegraph* issue of June 2, 1860. . . . 'Mr. Francis Loring, an intelligent Indian, and a member of the Penobscot tribe, who has been in this vicinity for several weeks, informed the writer that the tribe had in their possession, and which they carefully preserved among their national archives, an ancient book made of skins, containing many descriptions of important historical localities, some of which are in this vicinity, all of them in the ancient Indian style of signs and picture writing. One of these pictures represents four men rolling a heavy circular stone, by a stick placed through a hole in the centre, back and forth over a quantity of corn, and described as the Wampanoag national grinding mill, where corn was ground for war parties or for any large public gathering of the people. The locality of the place was so plainly stated that Mr. Loring had no difficulty in finding it. It is at the place called King's Rocks in Warren, near the Swansea line about two miles from the village.' "

Miss Baker's account states further that from another picture in the book Mr. Loring located, near Wigwam Hill, a mile east of the grinding place, an Indian cemetery. She continues: "Mr. Francis Loring, known also by the name 'Big Thunder,' is now living, at an advanced age, on Indian Old Town Island, Maine, and is the custodian of the Penobscot tribe. The writer recently learned from him that the 'ancient book made of skins' . . . was, a few years ago, accidentally destroyed by fire."*

From my talks and correspondence with Miss Baker, I gained a very high regard for her intelligence and good judgment. In fact, in the above account she merely related a remarkable story as it came to her. That she did not credit

*Virginia Baker, Massasoit's Town; Sowams in Pokanokit. Its History, Legends and Traditions. 1904.

it fully is evidenced by the fact that, as we shall see, she gathered further details about this marvelous person but did not publish them because she was not satisfied about their reliability. None of us alone can arrive at the whole truth. Personally, like her, I would have liked to believe that there was such a pictographic record of Wampanoag history as Loring claimed and she described, if only there were good grounds for the belief; just as I would have liked to believe that a truly remarkable stone tablet said to have been found near Taunton was a genuine record of long-ago conflicts of Indians with mammoths and a pictographic portrayal of the wanderings of Algonkian Indians throughout a long series of successive generations.* I find no warrant for accepting either of them as authentic.

Even so, if in the end we must class most of Big Thunder's pretensions in the category of deliberate inventions, still they do not lose a certain charm and attractiveness. If they lack historical veracity, they may nevertheless properly appeal as a pleasing work of fiction. Only, to enjoy them as such, we must know that that is what they are. So we pass from wish-fulfilling myth and mystery to an examination of what we can discover about the truth.

The very first statement which I have quoted from Miss Baker is in need of revision. Her impression that "the remnant of the Wampanoags merged with the Penobscot tribe" was derived from fallible local tradition. We know on good evidence that some members of the tribe surely fled somewhere, and it may well have been to Maine. While granting this, persons who know the Penobscots well assure me that there is no proof of any real "merging" of the two tribes, and that in any case it cannot have been important enough in amount or consequences to have served as a sound basis for Loring's claims. Though he told people in Warren that he was of Wampanoag descent, and was "custodian of the national archives" of that tribe, we shall find reason to reject such statements.

*These *Collections*, 1925, vol. 18, pp. 55ff.

There is no doubt, however, that Penobscots did visit Warren, probably several times earlier and certainly in 1860; just as they often went to other places, as far distant sometimes as Philadelphia, in the summer-time, "for trade and a good time." Loring was certainly a member of their party in 1860. He was described by Miss Baker's aunt, who saw him there, as "a very handsome man, over six feet tall, very dignified and modest in appearance." The only further details about him which I have seen in print are in a clipping from the *Boston Sunday Globe*, probably of some date in 1904. It shows a photograph of him, speaks of his being six feet four inches tall, and gives further information which I condense as follows: "His father died when he was an infant and little is known of his history. His mother was a doctress of the tribe, and practiced medicine in Boston and Portland. She died in Portland July 4, 1833. He was then a lad of 12, youngest of eight children. After she died, he and his sisters began making baskets for a living. They traveled as far as New York and Philadelphia, where they met Barnum, with whom they remained for eight months. He married three times and had eight children."

This would seem to fix the year of his birth as 1821, which agrees closely with his own statement in 1860 that he was then forty years old. But a dispatch from Oldtown, Maine, dated April 7, 1906, published in the *Boston Globe*, stated that Old Big Thunder died on that day, at the age of 79. This is more nearly in accord with the results of inquiries by Mrs. Eckstorm. She could not discover the exact truth, and says that Indians habitually add a few years in giving their age. Her best calculations fit fairly the implication of this 1906 assertion, for she arrives at the conclusion that he was born sometime about 1824 to 1827. His parentage as well as his age is not so certain as was assumed in the news-item cited above, which seems also to have understated his marital status. An Indian woman who had known him, in commenting upon this matter, remarked

that he had had eight "wives," of all nationalities and all colors "from ebony to pea-green."

His name is variously given; in recent years at least most commonly as Francis Loring, Chief Big Thunder. Speck suggests that his claim to Wampanoag descent was untrue, and that Loring may be an old Penobscot family name, spelled Loron in early documents, possibly derived from the French "Laurent," a common Indian family name. George Hunt, formerly for many years Indian agent at Oldtown, wrote to me in 1920 that he had always supposed Frank Loring to be a Penobscot Indian, and that the older Indians there knew nothing about any Wampanoags joining the Penobscots at any time. In connection with what we are to discover shortly about his character, this certainly suggests that Loring made up the story for its picturesque effect at Warren. Mrs. Eckstorm, who has had a long and intimate acquaintance with the Penobscots, says that until recently he had always been known at Oldtown, not as Loring, but as "Big Frank Lola."

He never had a bona fide Indian name;—"the Penobscots have lost the practice of native naming since conversion to Christianity," writes Dr. Speck. There is some uncertainty about the source of the other name by which he was familiarly known, "Chief Big Thunder." The "Chief" part seems to have been his own invention. I have reliable information that he never was a chief. It has been suggested that the "Big Thunder" part was conferred upon him because of his preposterous stories. But it seems that it goes back of that. Mrs. Eckstorm has probably hit upon the actual source of it. She has an old circus poster which leaves date and place to be filled in in writing, and announces that a troupe of actors and actresses of a tribe from west of the Rocky Mountains is to give an exhibition "under the direction of the FAMOUS INDIAN PROPHET BIG THUNDER." The particular one of these posters which she has announces a performance in Brewer, Maine, year not stated but probably about 1855. The actual exhibitors there, as she knows

from a trustworthy source, were Francis Lola and two nephews (or cousins). She surmises that Lola had traveled with the original troupe, had swiped a lot of the handbills, "and then had the face to come back to this town, where they were known to everyone, and show these circulars stating that they came from 'west of the Rocky Mountains.' My father (Manly Hardy) used to say that Big Thunder took his name from this circus program. As it unquestionably was printed for some other 'prophet' than he, I should say he stole the name, and the tribe let him keep it as a huge joke."

This was doubtless not his only venture in the circus business. There is no reason to doubt the statement that he was with Barnum for a time in his early youth. He once told George Hunt that he had traveled with Barnum's shows for twenty years, all over the country. The *Globe*, however, boils down this exaggeration to a mere eight months. Barnum makes no reference to him in his published reminiscences, although he does speak of having been "in the habit of engaging parties of American Indians from the far West to exhibit at the Museum," for many years previous to 1864.* In the midst of his vast array of other "unsurpassed curiosities," our Big Thunder made too little individual impression upon him to be singled out for special mention. How long their actual relationship lasted we have no means of knowing. Evidently it was long enough to give Loring some useful training in preparation for his later career.

About Loring's character, apart from the impression he made at Warren, I find absolutely undeviating agreement. A few quotations from my correspondence will suffice to make this clear. One of the mildest of them is this: "He was quite a character, and had many virtues. He had failings, however, and one of them was a certain exaggeration or amplification that sometimes shot wide of the truth."

*P. T. Barnum, Struggles and Triumphs, 1874, p. 573.

Others remark, practically unanimously, that he was a picturesque and unrestrained liar. "No one who knew him would believe a word he said. He must have told some truth; but it takes an expert to sort out his stuff, and any claims that he ever made for himself are so sure to be false that they are not worth arguing over." "He would have been willing to claim that he was Philip re-incarnated if the idea had struck him; and he would have acted the part, too! What he said about himself would not matter in the least." It was mostly "stuff and nonsense" that he narrated. "There was no odor of sanctity about old Big Thunder. The old fellow was held in little esteem by his tribesmen, and it was all he deserved." These seem to be entirely impartial and reliable estimates of his prevailing characteristics, and we shall find them further exemplified in what follows. He was a natural show-man, a little Barnum, and he made his living out of it.

The most intriguing thing to us Rhode Islanders in the story of his adventures in Warren is that mysterious "book of skins" which was said to depict important features of the history of the Wampanoags. It would have been a priceless possession for preservation among our State's historical treasures, if authentic and procurable. But we are well prepared now to estimate the value of the assertions which he made about it. The most detailed description of it extant is in the manuscript note-book of Miss Baker, from which she permitted me to make an excerpt. It must not be inferred that she trusted the story without reservation. Although it appealed to her as something that would be important and absorbingly interesting if true, yet she did not put faith enough in it to be willing to publish it without surer knowledge. She gave me permission, however, to use it if I saw fit, and I am certain that she would have approved of its inclusion in this present setting. The pertinent passage is dated 1903, and relates the result of an investigation made for her by a friend who had been to Indian Old Town

Island and had had an interview with Big Thunder. Her account of it follows:

"He (Big Thunder) told all about the ancient 'book of skins' referred to by Gen. Fessenden. It was burned, as the Indian agent wrote me several years ago. The book, for many years, was believed to be made of skins, but it was discovered that the so-called skins were really sheets of birch bark cured in a way that made them look like skins. Big Thunder showed a piece of bark prepared in the same way, and one could not tell it from a skin. This ancient book was a sort of chart or record of localities in Warren, Bristol, and part of Providence. By it Big Thunder located King's Rocks, King Philip's Chair, the Indian Burial Place on Edward Mason's farm on the Big Swamp Road, and other Indian localities. Big Thunder said that in the chart was a picture of a niche in the side of a hill with an Indian seated in it shooting at a head-dress set up on a rock at some distance ahead of him. The meaning of this picture is that King Philip used to practice marksmanship by shooting the feathers off the head-dress. The niche was King Philip's Chair at Mount Hope. The chart showed that near this Chair there was wampum buried. Big Thunder dug and unearthed a collar of purple and white beads. It was shaped to fit the neck, the groundwork being of the purple beads with a sort of vine-like design of white. Big Thunder as custodian of the tribe had the collar. He keeps it in an old cracked blue pitcher."

There seems to be here some evidence that Big Thunder's story about the book had grown somewhat in the interval since he had told it to Fessenden 43 years before. All my informants are very skeptical about this peculiar book. For one thing, no one can be found who ever saw it, whether Fessenden in 1860, or anyone later! It may have existed, or may not. Even if it did, as one person expresses it, "he may have made it himself, and burned part or all of it. Indians are apt to hoax nice people this way when they think their victims are gullible and eager." The value of

Loring's word for it we have probed already. Another correspondent observes rightly that so far as its contents have been described it would be a very queer sort of book for Indians to preserve—why should they wish to have charts of ancient cornmills and graveyards? Loring was wandering about in the vicinity of Warren "for several weeks," and no chart would have been needed to help him find the places which he located. It cannot possibly have revealed the burial place of the collar described: "collars of wampum thirty years ago were common on Oldtown Island and Big Thunder probably got his beads there; no collar woven of wampum could last long in the ground." Moreover, "there is no such thing as 'keeper of the records of the tribe.' " And finally, a well-informed local Indian had never heard of the existence of such a book. It seems to have been invented by our gifted deceiver especially to appeal to a Rhode Island audience.

When I first heard of it, I naturally was eager to learn everything possible about it, and to discover whether there was any chance at all that it might have been an authentic pictographic source-book of local Indian history. Such things are not unknown. The Lenni Lenape (Delawares) had a pictographic Walam Olum, outlining the history of their migrations; and B. Perley Poore found in the French archives an "Indian Hieroglyphic Picture Book," the "Livre des Sauvages," written about 1680.* After such reports as I have now related, all my hopes in this direction were completely shattered. The outcome, nevertheless, leaves us with a still quaint texture of pleasing inventions to console us for the lack of historical veridity. Our "custodian of the tribe" naturally had other treasures to show to interested visitors. What can be learned about these throws further light on the general nature of his pretensions and is worth placing on record. I have two lists of them, one recorded by Miss Baker in 1903, the other noted down by

*E. B. Delabarre, Dighton Rock, 1928, pp. 177, 272, 278.

Mrs. Eckstorm in 1901. The latter says that at the time of her visit he displayed a birch bark sign reading: "Big Thunder, Indian relics and Indian traditions told." Both remark that he kept the articles in a box or trunk under his bed. There is not a single identifiable article that is the same in the two lists, unless those which I have numbered 1 and 2 are the same in both cases. Apparently he sold them when he could, and kept changing them and his stories about them to suit the interests of his particular hearers. It was his business to sell relics with interesting stories attached to them. One list, together with the tale of the mythical pictographic book, has the appearance of having been designed for Rhode Island consumption especially. The other and earlier one has nothing in it reminiscent of that design. Miss Baker's list of the treasures is as follows:

1. A knife given by the Mohawks to the Penobscots.
2. The collar of wampum described above, used at marriage ceremonies.
3. An iron hatchet given by King Philip to the Penobscots, the first iron hatchet ever owned by the tribe. (But see a later story about King Philip's axe.)
4. An iron tomahawk given to the tribe by King Philip.
5. A pestle which Big Thunder found at King's Rocks.
6. A red sandstone peace-pipe obtained from the Cherokees.
7. The war-bow of the tribe. Very curious. String of caribou hide.

Mrs. Eckstorm's list, of two years earlier, is longer:

1. Scalping knife taken from the Mohawks when they were beaten by the Penobscots! A very curious, long knife, very long narrow blade inlaid with bright metal, color of brass, and with an engraved brass handle riveted in pieces upon the steel handle. Apparently French make.
2. A piece beaded with purple wampum edged with white, beads set on diagonal lines, piece about 2 by 8 inches, buckskin fringes.

3. Strings of purple wampum.

4. Necklace of points of caribou hoofs.

5. Necklace of bear's claws with a "medal of human bone."

6. Small silver brooches from 2 to 4 inches in diameter, without ornament.

7. Two powder horns, one ancient.

8. Some stone tools, knife, axe, etc., in handles.

9. Flint and steel.

10. Scalping knife (after the pattern of Col. Bowie!) 'used by the Spaniards in the massacre of Indians at Pemaquid!' A heavy, rusty knife with wood handle covered apparently with snake skin or shark skin scraped thin.

11. Various tomahawks of bloody history, and bludgeons of modern make.

12. Pictures of Molly Molasses 'at the age of 110, wearing her widow's cap.' (Molly was never married; died aged 92.)

13. The relics sent by Queen Isabella to Mrs. Polis, mother of Joseph Polis, wife of a chief!! (a) A silver 'crown'—otherwise a silver hat-band. This was a flexible belt of silver, thin, not very heavy, about 3 inches wide, chased in lines like one of our brooches and with a line of openwork holes near the top. (b) Several strings of glass beads, blue and garnet, small size but good color. (c) Gold ear-rings, diamond ring, and autograph letter (these last not seen; ring lost).

14. The game of bowls. This was undoubtedly very ancient. The bowl was a shallow disk of wood about 14 inches across, made, so Lola said, with stone tools and 200 years old. The counters were bone buttons about 1¼ inches across, plain one side and marked with a simple design of curved lines on the other. The game was, putting them in the bowl, to bring it down with a thump that would make the counters jump. If all fell one side up, it counted; if they fell heads and tails, it did not.

Through her intimate knowledge of Indians both here and in the West, Mrs. Eckstorm was able to catch old Lola in a number of untrue statements both about the relics and in general conversation. It is hardly necessary to relate them here, as we have instances enough to demonstrate his utter unreliability and unbridled imagination. She quotes one old Indian as saying: "You see, he never could bear to have anyone tell a bigger story than he could. He always had to 'over it.' " But there is one more illustration of his characteristic inability to stick to truth that is worth relating. Mrs. Eckstorm's brother had a guide, who told him once: "There was that d—d old rascal telling my mother that that was King Philip's axe that he used to kill our people; and it was the same old axe I had just found in Passadumkeag Rips at low water and given to him."

I cannot better close this study of a curious personality, whose reputed strange gifts and possessions turn out to be so tame and understandable, than by quoting again a passage from one of Dr. Speck's letters which I have published once before: "He was a 'show-man' in every sense of the term. He was a most unreserved liar and no secret was made of it among the Penobscot. His business was the deception of the public. He had a little relic shop on Indian Island where he sold 'ancient relics' which he manufactured, and I have encountered many stories and traditions which were his own invention. Among them must be included the 'ancient Book' hoax. In short, Big Thunder was a joke among all who knew the Indians."

Despite this unavoidable conclusion, Big Thunder was a 'picturesque old rascal,' who contributes to our entertainment if not to historical knowledge. It has been well worth while to have sought out the facts about him, as a one-time visitor to Rhode Island who created a teasing mystery and a flurry of interest and curiosity which the previously published accounts of him in Rhode Island literature have left unclarified.

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